

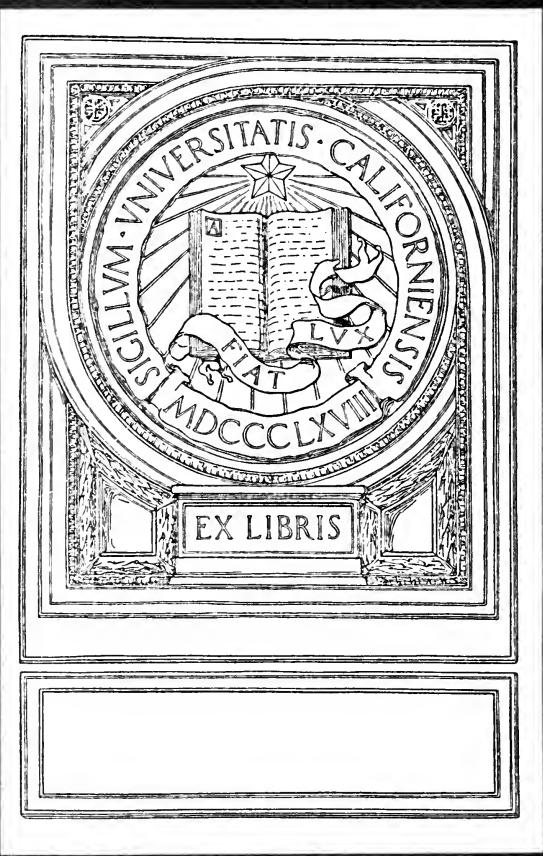
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REPORT
OF THE
First American Conference
for
Democracy and Terms of Peace

held at

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

NEW YORK CITY

May 30th and 31st, 1917



Published by the Organizing Committee

People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace

Two West Thirteenth Street, New York City

TO MMU
AMERICAN

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TO VINA
AMARILIA

FOREWORD

Two nearly concurrent events led to the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace—first, the definite entrance of the United States into the world war, and, second, the Revolution in Russia.

With war actually declared, the whole question of democracy and peace presented a new face to the American people. Militarism was no longer a theory, but a hideous condition. All the evils that had been predicted were immediately transplanted bodily to our country: assaults upon the letter and spirit of democracy, invasions of the sacred constitutional rights of free speech, free press and freedom of assembly, conscription, excessive taxation and unbridled waste of public funds and material resources.

A great wave of indignation swept over the land.

This sense of outrage was not confined to peace societies. It came from all classes and from all parts of the country. Men and women in all walks of life, who had felt secure, who had believed that the repeated and urgent warnings of the anti-militarists were merely products of overheated imaginations and therefore not to be heeded, now realized the situation in all its seriousness.

There was need of a nation-wide organization that could bring all these people together and render them articulate as a mighty force demanding that American democracy, American ideals, American peace, be preserved inviolate. It must be an organization in which liberty-loving men and women could sink the petty differences that might have divided them in the past, leaving them free to focus their attention and their strength upon the great fundamental issues of the crisis before them.

Such an organization was rendered doubly necessary by the Revolution in Russia. Those who might have been plunged into the depths of despair at the thought of America's following in the bloody footsteps of Europe were encouraged to the point of exaltation by the splendid example of that country which has so long been known as "darkest Russia." They wanted to make known to this free Russian people that the feelings of those who dwell in America were not truly expressed by the warlike and undemocratic action of the official government that was elected to represent them. They wanted to show that they stand solid behind the Russian democracy and are ready to work determinedly with them until the autocracy of the entire world is overthrown.

The following Call to Action was issued to the people of the United States, under date of May 7, 1917:

It is now less than six weeks since the United States entered the world war. In that short space of time the grip of militarist hysteria has fastened itself upon the country; conscription is being placed upon our statute books; the pernicious "gag" bill is about to be forced through Congress; standards to safeguard labor, carefully built up through years, have been swept aside; the right of free speech has been assailed; halls have been closed against public discussion, meetings broken up, speakers arrested—and now the danger of a permanent universal military training law confronts us.

While all this military organization is going on in America, rumors of peace come to us from Germany, Austria, Italy and Russia. Shall it be said that we, the latest to enter the war, are less concerned about the early establishment of a peace based on justice for all?

We call on all American citizens to unite with us in the First American Congress on Democracy and Terms of Peace, at the Madison Square Theatre, on May 30 and 31, to discuss how best we can aid our government in bringing to ourselves and the world a speedy, righteous and enduring peace.

That those who fostered the movement had judged wisely was quickly evident from the spontaneous and widespread response. The time was short, the difficulties of disseminating the call were great and adequate funds were lacking. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that when the Conference met at the appointed hour there were members present from forty-three of the forty-eight States of the Union. These represented all shades of political, economic and religious thought. There were Jewish rabbis and Christian clergy, farmers, editors, college professors, laboring men and professional men; Single Taxers, Socialists, Democrats and Republicans; the individualist representing only himself and the president of a great labor organization representing 500,000 American workers.

➤ The deliberations were carried on through six long and busy sessions and the accompanying meetings of the hard-worked committees. The Conference ended with one of the largest mass meetings that ever stormed the doors of Madison Square Garden. The gathering was marked throughout by a great harmony of ideals, a great unity of purpose, a great staunchness of spirit. The members had come together with a full sense of the gravity of the moment and a determination to let nothing turn them aside from the two great subjects at issue, democracy and peace. They were men and women who had thought long and deeply upon these vital questions. They had made up their minds and were resolved henceforward to ally themselves boldly and

unequivocally with those forces so gloriously exemplified by the new-born Russian Republic. This is clearly reflected in the positive straightforward resolutions which the Conference adopted covering the main topics under consideration.

In publishing this report of proceedings, the aim has been not to give a cold verbatim record of the Conference, but rather to produce a volume which would cover in compact form, and unified as much as possible, the various outstanding phases of the subjects under discussion and which would therefore serve as a valuable book of reference for students, writers, speakers and others interested in helping to organize the world for enduring peace and democracy.

In order to accomplish this purpose and bring the brochure within reasonable limits, the editors have found it necessary to make many abridgements of the formal discussions and to eliminate the informal discussions altogether. Among the men and women who, in addition to those whose addresses are reported herein, gave valuable assistance in the formal and informal discussions, both from the floor and from the platform, the following should be mentioned: Frank Stephens, Arden, Del.; Lewis A. Maverick, San Antonio, Tex.; Marion B. Cothren, Brooklyn; Mrs. Darwin J. Mesarole, Brooklyn; Jacob Panken, New York; Ludwig Lore, New York; Job Harriman, California, and others.

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RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE

First American Conference on Democracy and Peace
New York City, May 30 and 31, 1917

P R E A M B L E

United in our love for America, we are convinced that we can best serve our country by urging upon our countrymen the adoption of the following policies:

1. PEACE

The conference favors an early, general and democratic peace, to be secured through negotiation in harmony with the principles outlined by the President of the United States and by revolutionary Russia, and accepted substantially by the progressive and democratic forces of France, England, Italy, Germany, Austria and other countries, namely:

- (a) No forcible annexation of territory.
- (b) No punitive indemnities.
- (c) Free development of all nationalities.

We favor international reorganization for the maintenance of peace. As steps leading thereto, we suggest: The adjudication of disputes among nations; simultaneous disarmament; freedom of the seas and international waterways; protection of small nations and other similar measures.

We urge the government of the United States immediately to announce its war aims in definite and concrete terms upon the above principles and to make efforts to induce the allied countries to make similar declarations, thus informing our public for what concrete objects they are called upon to fight, and thereby forcing a definite expression of war aims on the part of the central powers.

We demand that this country shall make peace the moment its announced aims shall have been achieved, and that it shall not carry on war for the territorial and imperialistic ambitions of other countries. Further, we demand that it shall make no agreement with other govern-

ments limiting its freedom of action nor any agreement or understanding looking toward an economic war after the war.

COMMITTEE.—Morris Hillquit, New York City, chairman; Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago, Ill.; Emily Greene Balch, Boston, Mass.; William I. Hull, Swarthmore, Pa.; Randolph Bourne, New York City; Anne Withington, Boston, Mass.; Alfred J. Boulton, New York City; Leonora O'Reilly, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Algernon Lee, New York City; Professor Lindley M. Keasbey, Texas.

2. AMERICAN LIBERTIES

The first victims of war are the people's liberties. It was to reserve these liberties that our forefathers framed the first amendment to the constitution, forbidding Congress to abridge "the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

We hereby protest to the President and Congress against the abridgment of these rights, and call upon the American people to defend them. We shall oppose with all legal means at our disposal the censorship of newspapers and of other printed matter or interference with their distribution by the postal department.

We demand that private mail shall not be tampered with. The invasion of homes or offices without search warrant and the seizure of private letters and documents is clearly a violation of the constitution of the United States. We protest against the suppression of any public meetings of American citizens. To imprison citizens without warrant or charge is a practical suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

We also declare that all Americans are entitled to passports to neutral countries. Legislation now pending in Congress, if passed, will make this country more autocratic than Russia under the rule of the czar.

Secret diplomacy must be abolished. We demand democratic control of our foreign policy. We call for a referendum on questions of war and conscription. We insist on discussion in Congress, in the press and in public meetings of the terms of all alliances, agreements and treaties. It seems to be the intention of the government now to forbid even the discussion of the terms of peace in the press and in public meetings.

We pledge ourselves to work for the repeal of all laws for compulsory military training and compulsory service and to oppose the enactment of all such laws in the future.

Inasmuch as we believe conscription laws to be unconstitutional (violating the 13th amendment of the constitution of the United States, which provides that there shall be no involuntary servitude) we appeal to the Congress of the United States so to amend the conscription act before June 5 as to grant exemption to all conscientious objectors, whether or not they be members of recognized religious denominations,

Inasmuch as young men of conscriptable age are inquiring whether or not military registration on June 5th will subject them immediately to military law and will compel them to work without the protection of labor laws under any conditions which the military executive may force upon them; and inasmuch as the legal branch of the War Department has thus far refused to answer questions concerning the status of these men after registration.

This conference hereby appeals to the government for a full and unmistakable pronouncement on this point.

COMMITTEE—Richard W. Hogue, chairman; Lola Maverick Lloyd, Winnetka, Ill.; Bernard J. Walton, Swarthmore, Pa.; Prof. H. W. L. Dana, New York City; Harry Weinberger, New York City; Rev. Norman Thomas, New York City; Victor Berger, Milwaukee; Donald Stephens, Delaware; Alex. L. Trachtenberg, New York City.

3. INDUSTRIAL STANDARDS

The standard of living of American workers prior to the war was low enough, as revealed by the report of the industrial relations commission and other impartial investigators.

The long struggle that has been waged to reduce hours, to raise wages, to abolish child labor, to protect the life, limbs and health of the wage earners, has created definite minimum labor standards. A nation-wide assault on these standards is now in progress. Labor laws are being suspended or repealed; cheap alien labor is to be imported; women are replacing the men who leave for the front. We call upon the working people to resist this assault by insisting that the labor laws be preserved and enforced; by maintaining the rights gained through the labor movements; by opposing the importation of cheap alien labor and prisoners of war, and by insisting that where women take the place of men they receive men's wages.

To furnish the vast profits that American organized business is exacting from the American people, the cost of living has been increased until it is undermining American standards. We, therefore, demand that Congress provide forthwith the machinery for the fixing of maximum prices on the necessities of life and minimum wages which will insure health, efficiency, comfort and education.

Taxation of the necessities of life invariably reduces standards of living. We, therefore, demand that none of the revenue required for the prosecution of the war shall come from the taxation of necessities.

Industrial plutocracy makes for war—industrial democracy for peace. This brings with it autocratic control of industry in the interest of the ruling classes. The American people, joining hands with the new democracy of Russia, must lay the basis for permanent world peace by establishing industrial democracy.

COMMITTEE—Scott Nearing, Toledo, Ohio, chairman; James Bagley, New York City; Edward Cassidy, New York City; Henri Bereche, New York City; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York City; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York City; A. Baroff, New York City; Miss Amy Hicks, New York City.

4. PERMANENT ORGANIZATION AND FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Resolved, That the conference elect an executive committee of eight members, with power to add to their number, and with the understanding that this organizing committee organize a permanent delegated people's council from all sympathetic groups, to give immediate and permanent effect to the resolutions of the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace.

Resolved, That this committee recommend the appointment by the chairman of this conference of a committee which shall go at once to Washington to present the resolutions of the conference and ask the President for the terms on which the administration would be willing to make peace.

Resolved, That the permanent committee arrange for a similar conference on democracy and terms of peace in Illinois immediately, and for a similar conference in California as soon as practicable thereafter, as originally intended in connection with this conference.

Resolved, That the organizing committee on permanent organization be instructed to create at once a committee on international co-operation, representing all the democratic forces in the United States field, to work in co-operation with the democratic forces of other countries, both during and after the war.

Resolved, That the organizing committee on permanent organization be instructed to see to it that legal defense of all American liberties in war time is effectively organized throughout the United States.

COMMITTEE.—James Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa., chairman; Frank Stephens, Arden, Del.; Mary Ware Dennett, New York City; Crystal Eastman, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Job Harriman, Los Angeles, Cal.; Rebecca Shelly, New York City; Daniel Roy Freeman, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Willard C. Wheeler, Boston, Mass.; Rose Schneidermann, New York City; Arthur Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Max Pine, New York City; Adolph Germer, Chicago, Ill.; Max Eastman, New York City; Edward Hartman, Boston, Mass.; Harold Rotzel, Worcester, Mass.; Fola La Follete, New York City; Harry Laidler, New York City; Louis P. Lochner, Chicago, Ill.; Joseph Schlossberg, New York City; Daniel Kiefer, Cincinnati, Ohio; Charles W. Ervin, New York City; Elizabeth Freeman, New York City; Margaret Lane, New York City.

Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace

Garden Theatre, New York City

First Session

Wednesday, May 30, 10 A. M.

OPENING ADDRESS BY DR. J. L. MAGNES, NEW YORK,
CHAIRMAN

We have come in the midst of war to aid the cause of peace. We have come from all parts of our loved country to re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of democracy and international brotherhood. We come here because we love America and because we want America to assume leadership in bringing about a speedy and universal and democratic peace such as will endure for a long time to come.

We have not come as obstructionists. We are aware of the gravity of the situation confronting our government. We are eager to be of aid. We do not pretend to advise as to the conduct of the war—we have no talent for that. We do, however, think that we can be of aid in advising our Government and the people of America as to the necessity and the method of bringing about a speedy and universal and democratic peace.

We assume that our Government is anxious to hear what the citizens of this democracy have to say. The Secretary of the Navy said on May 25 that "the spirit of the administration is, that comment and criticism are the very life of a democracy." In any event we should have regarded it as our duty as citizens of the American Republic to exercise our constitutional rights of free speech, of peaceable assemblage and of petition, and to express such views and to take such action as in this emergency we think best for America. We agree very seriously and literally with what our President said concerning the "privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience."

We urge upon the President and the Congress an immediate public statement of our war aims and our peace terms. Our young men are about to be drafted into military service and our soldiers are about to be sent across the seas. What, in concrete terms that every man can understand, are they to fight for, and upon what terms will America be ready to end the war and make peace? We urge further that when such concrete aims shall have been formulated, the President de-

clare as a standing peace offer to Germany, that whenever these specified aims shall have been achieved we are ready to end the war.

The President and Congress have said that we have gone to war because of Germany's illegal and brutal submarine warfare. Will we be ready to end the war and make peace if this ruthless submarine warfare be ended? This question should be answered clearly because as to it there is confusion in the minds of the public.

The President has said also that we have gone to war because "the world must be made safe for democracy." The American people—devoted to this lofty aim—have the right to know just what this means to the President. To make the entire world safe for democracy may take a very, very long time. What particular part of the world, then, do we refer to, and what degree of safety do we require, and what degree of democracy will satisfy us? Does a world made safe for democracy refer to Germany alone, or does it refer to Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey as well, with whom we are not as yet at war? Does it also refer to some of our Allies, Japan, for instance—and to some of the possessions held or dominated by our Allies—Ireland, India, Morocco, Persia, for instance? If it refers to Germany alone, what are we after there? Is a military defeat of Germany absolutely essential before we shall agree to peace, so that Germany and all men may know that Germany's militarism is not invincible? And what will we exact of Germany if she be defeated? The President has said: "We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation." Do we then demand as a condition *sine qua non* of a world made safe for democracy the dethronement of the Kaiser or the reform of the three-class Prussian electoral system, or a ministry responsible to the Reichstag instead of to the Kaiser? Or must Germany become a Republic, copied after our own? If we are to make Germany into a democracy, are we to dictate forms of economic as well as of political life, and is the degree of democracy to be determined by our own standards or by those of the freer democracy of the new Russia? The people of this country, who are to bear the burden of this war, have a right to know exactly what a world made safe for democracy means. They have a right to know exactly what it is that we want of Germany, just what we will be satisfied with, concretely and specifically what, if we achieve it, we shall stop fighting for. And it may be that if our Government says all of this clearly and unmistakably, the echo of it will reverberate in Germany, and to use the President's words, we may be "that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war."

The new Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs said last week: "There are two great new facts in the war—the Russian revolution and the entry of the great republic of the United States." One of the things this Conference on Democracy and Peace Terms is aiming at is to suggest ways and means whereby these two forces may co-operate to bring about a speedy, general and democratic peace.

The Russian Republic has announced its war aims and its peace terms. And our own Conference is called together upon that very basis:

No forcible annexations.

No punitive indemnities.

Free development of all nations and peoples and nationalities

Because of this eminently humane, just, clear-sighted policy, the Russian Republic has been accused of all manner of unscrupulous and blundering subservience to German influence. It does not, however, require much knowledge of the Russian situation to understand the very simple and cogent reasons for the policy of the new and democratic Russia. Russia's revolutionary democracy is dominated by men and women who are the creators and heirs of a rare revolutionary tradition permeated with a deep love of humanity, liberty, justice. Is it not natural that such revolutionaries should be eager for an international peace, that they should not lust after the territory of others, that they should banish all thoughts of inflicting reprisals upon their enemies through punitive indemnities and contributions, and that they should demand the right of all nations to determine their own affairs? But, from a narrower point of view as well, it is easy to comprehend the reasons for the Russian peace terms. Russia wants above all things to save the new democracy and the new republic. Any other peace terms would be a menace to the new Russia. These peace terms offer a possible basis of a speedy, general, democratic peace, and in order to be saved from reaction within and the enemy from without, Russia needs a world at peace and does not need new territories or indemnities. Russia needs the opportunity now to work out its overwhelming problems in peace. Or shall the suggestion, insidiously made in America, be adopted by Russia that "the best thing to do is to set up a dictatorship and to postpone all reforms until after the war?" If Russia suffers a military reverse, then indeed, a military dictatorship with a snuffing out of the ardor of the new democracy will inevitably result. If, on the other hand, Russia cannot, for whatever reasons, achieve this speedy, general, democratic peace, America must understand that the Russian armies will have the spirit to continue the war on one condition—that their own idealistic war aims be made the war aims of their Allies.

For every eventuality, therefore, it is vital for Russia to have America's aid in imposing her own war aims upon all of the belligerents. Russia has asked for this aid. On May 4, when the new formulation of war aims was forced upon the then Provisional Government of Russia by the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates, Prince Tzeretelli, now a member of the Provisional Government, said: "Now that the question has been settled here, our aims—war without annexations, appropriations or contributions—also must be realized abroad. We must know the attitude of the democracy of our Allies. If a similar movement takes place in the foreign democracies, this will bring peace much nearer."

This Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace is meeting to-day in an endeavor to bring about this movement in the democracy of America. We aim to let the Russian democracy know the attitude of the democracy of America. We believe in the Russian war aims and peace terms, because we think they are just and because their adoption by all the belligerents would "bring peace much nearer." If we understand the President aright, these are also the war aims and peace terms outlined by him, and it is our hope that he will now confirm this in the clear, precise, specific words of which he is master. We want the Russian Democracy to know that in America there are vast numbers of American citizens who, even before the President has spoken, share the Russian war aims, and that we are no less eager than they to bring about a speedy, universal and democratic peace. We want them to know that the American Democracy does not intend to lag behind the Russian in the development of political and economic internationalism, and in all the constructive arts of peace. We want them to know that we would vie with them in working out new forms of freedom and of life.

In the course of this Conference, we shall tell more in detail what we mean by "No forcible annexations, no punitive indemnites, free development of all nations, peoples and nationalities."

I think it important, however, briefly to say at the very outset, that, in general, the formulation "No forcible annexations" means, the restoration of Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, and of all other territories conquered by the one side or by the other. It means that all territorial readjustments must be secured through negotiation, and that in these negotiations the democratic method be applied, namely, that no territory shall be transferred from one sovereignty to another against the will of the people of that territory.

If the minority Socialists of France can demand this method as to Alsace-Lorraine, if the Socialists of both Serbia and Bulgaria can demand this method as to the Balkans, surely the democratic forces of America, which seeks no conquest or dominion, need not be more loyal than the king, and should demand the application of this formula and this method to all the perplexing territorial and frontier adjustments which must no longer disturb the peace of the world.

The formulation "No punitive indemnities" means, that however much one belligerent succeeds in crushing another, there shall be a peace without victory, that is, that the victor shall not punish the vanquished by expropriating territory or levying contributions as Germany did with France in 1870. This does not mean that the world shall be indifferent to the sufferings of ravished peoples or of devastated districts. It is perfectly consistent with the thought, as expressed by the Boston League for Democratic Control, of "an international assumption of the expense of reconstructing devastated areas in Europe, a large proportion to be borne by the United States in return for guarantees of future peace."

The formula "The free development of all nations" means, that every nation, people and nationality shall have the right to determine the conditions under which it is to develop its own life. It means that great nations shall not subjugate small nations, that subject and oppressed peoples and nationalities shall have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Lloyd-George said on Sunday that "Lasting peace will come when all the peoples of Europe are free to determine their own fate for themselves." The Russian formulation which we make our own means this—but more than this. It means guaranteeing the rights and liberties not only of the subject peoples and nationalities of the Central Powers, but of the subject peoples and nationalities of the Entente as well; and not only those of Europe, but also those of Asia and Africa and America and of the Seven Seas, whatever be their religion or their color. For, it is only if the peoples of the world are freed politically, economically, spiritually, that the bases of a lasting peace can be laid. It is fatuous to suppose that any League can enforce a peace based merely upon power, and not based upon the free will of all the liberated democracies of all of Europe, of all of Asia, of all of Africa, and of all the Americas.

Russia is now attempting to persuade her Allies whole-heartedly to agree to this formulation of war aims, and we believe it to be the privilege and obligation of our Government to aid Russia in thus "bringing peace much nearer."

The obligation upon our Government is doubly serious because of the manner in which some of the belligerents have already reacted to the Russian proposals.

Unfortunately, the English reaction to the Russian formula has not thus far been encouraging. According to Lord Robert Cecil, the English must hold the captured German colonies, and according to Mr. Asquith, there has been no change in the Entente's war aims. What we ask is: Is America in the war to help England get Germany's colonies and to achieve the imperialistic ambitions of any of the belligerents? Or will America make common cause with Russia on the basis of no forcible annexations, and thus assure a peace without victory with the chance this gives for freedom and democracy and civilization the world over?

The Government of France has reacted to the Russian proposals by declaring through Premier Ribot that *revanche* must be satisfied and the "lost provinces" be returned. Everyone must admire the tenacity of France in its struggle to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine. But have we gone to war to help France get back her "lost provinces" and are we committed to the theory of restoring all provinces "lost" in the past fifty years? And is it our theory that these injustices can be cured by war? Rather than embark upon the complicated enterprise of restoring lost provinces, should not the policy of our Government look towards the support of the Russian policy of "No forcible annexations" without quibble and equivocation?

Another reason for our making common cause with Russia is because Austria, in the semi-official *Fremdenblatt*, has declared her war aims to be identical with those of Russia.

And Germany! There are those who say that the Russian programme for peace is a German programme for peace. On what authority is this said? Would to Heaven that this were Germany's programme for peace! Would to Heaven that Germany were ready to renounce her desire for annexations and indemnities. Unfortunately, this is not the German programme for peace. The German Reichskanzler refused but a few days ago to declare this as the German peace programme, despite the manifest advantages of doing so in answer to Russia. But though this is, alas, not the German programme for peace, it ought to be made so. And it can be made so by America, not through war, but if America will back Russia in Russia's declared war aims, and if America will persuade—as she has the power to persuade—the English and the French to make these war aims their war aims as well. For, consider well what was said in the German Reichstag on May 15. This was said: "If France and Great Britain renounce annexation and Germany insists thereon, there will be a revolution in Germany." In other words, if America and Russia, as the new factors in the war, will exercise leadership, if America will back Russia, if America will exert its vast power over England and France and insist upon the adoption of the Russian programme, no one can doubt that the German people will rise up in their might and compel the German Government and the German Junkers and capitalists to renounce all their hopes of annexations and indemnities, and peace will result.

To be sure, the mere suggestion of peace is regarded as traitorous in many quarters. The word peace is become the most terrifying in the language. But we are undaunted in our cry and in our passion for peace, because we know how futile all wars are, this one among them.

On April 24, but a short while after the Russian revolution had broken out, A. F. Kerensky, now Russian Minister of the Army and Marine, said: "The Russian masses, whom I represent in the Provisional Government, recently established, endorse President Wilson's war aims, provided the President was speaking not as a diplomat but as the mouthpiece of the American people, when, in his peace note, he proclaimed a desire for peace without victory, and a re-establishment of European Governments along lines of racial development, the world will find the Russian soldiers, Russian sailors and Russian workmen lined up solidly behind him in his desire to free the German people."

We turn to our President and we adjure him to speak as the mouthpiece of the American people, to reaffirm his belief in a peace without victory, and unequivocally to throw in the lot of the American Democracy with that of Russia, and bring a speedy, universal, democratic peace to the world.

In any event, we shall not cease lamenting the fact that the President found it necessary to urge war in order to achieve his peace aims. Alas, that America, the one haven of refuge for the oppressed and the suffering of all the world, America that might have acted as a harbinger of peace, bringing healing to the afflicted nations, is now bloody with war. On January 22, 1917, our President was still pursuing the method of negotiation, of neutrality, of moral forces. Alas, that the suspense could no longer be borne, that the moral and intellectual strain grew too heavy, that patience was exhausted, and the plunge was taken into the abyss of war and death and brute physical force. But the fact that we are at war cannot make us abhor war the less. The fact that we are at war makes us but the more determined to loathe it, to teach our children to loathe it, to want to make America and all the world loathe it. In the face of death, we stand ready to exalt life. With destruction before us, we express our passionate devotion to the constructive processes of religion, literature, science, art. With suppression threatening us, we speak up for liberty, for freedom, for democracy. Not only have we a rooted and ineradicable repugnance to brute material force, but we are also thoroughly convinced of the madness, the inadequacy, the impracticability of the war-method to achieve the world peace so touchingly and fervently pictured by the President on January 22, 1917. The war-method is the old, the long, the slow method, the unsafe and hopeless way. In this present war, it is doubtful if even a military victory—the only possible excuse for war—can be achieved by either side. But victory or no victory, the millions of lost lives and treasure cannot be recalled, the anguish of millions of innocents cannot be assuaged, the heat of the war passions in millions of the earth's children will not soon be cooled, the bitterness and hatred of men and nations that should be brothers have poisoned innumerable sources of life and light and joy, and the moral and intellectual and religious hypocrisy of leading men will not soon be forgiven. No, the oppressed and driven and helpless peoples of all belligerents—be they called autocracies or democracies—will not forget this crime against them. The plain peoples of the world will find it hard to forgive this riot of power in the hands of a few overlords, and the peoples of the world will surely avenge this betrayal of life. Oh, that our voices, the voices of many peoples, might be heard, and that America might justify the world's high hopes of her, by commanding peace forthwith as easily now she might. The President's peace aims can now be achieved without the killing of more millions. But the killing of more millions can never achieve these peace aims.

Dr. Magnes, after announcing the various committees and asking for suggestions for additional members, then opened the *Symposium on the European Situation*.

ALGERNON LEE, Educational Secretary Rand School, New York:
Forces Making for Democracy and Peace in Europe.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Complying with the request of the Committee that I very briefly summarize the forces in Europe now working for peace and demoracy, I find it necessary to give what may seem to some of you a disproportionate attention to the International Socialist Bureau and the Socialist parties in the various countries of Europe. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Socialist movement is the only international organized body committed to the cause of peace and democracy, which is, at the same time, in direct contact with great masses of the people in all of the various countries. It will be borne in mind that to speak of the Socialist movement on the continent of Europe is for all practical purposes to speak also of the movement of organized labor, and that this is, to a very great extent, true also of Great Britain. Besides the Socialist and Labor International, there are certainly in many countries—probably in all of them—numerous and influential non-Socialist elements earnestly working in the same direction, so far as concerns the effort for a general democratic and lasting peace. If time permitted, for instance, much could be said of the invaluable service that has been and is being rendered in Great Britain by the Union of Democratic Control and other organizations of a like nature, including among their active members such men in and out of Parliament as Brailesford, Morel, Bertrand Russell, Trevelyan and others. They work to establish popular education concerning the causes of war, the effects of war and the economic and political conditions necessary to secure peace, consistent with liberty and with progress.

It has not been practicable for similar elements in France and Germany to assert themselves with the same vigor as in Great Britain, but there also it is clear that the non-Socialist pacifists of ante-bellum days have by no means all of them abandoned their ideas, although in most cases they give first place to what they regard as the necessity for national defense. This does not prevent them from consciously aiming at a peace organized on very different lines from those contemplated by the nationalistic and imperialistic elements in their respective countries. If they have not yet come into action as a peace-making force they may reasonably be expected to do so as soon as the mass movement gets well under way. Finally, one ought to mention the peace societies of various types which have their headquarters in the three neutral centers of Europe. Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian countries which have done very much to combat the growth of national hatreds and to offset the effect upon the popular mind in the belligerent countries of the pernicious misinformation which is so industriously disseminated in each of those countries by the Government and by the jingo press.

The importance of the Socialist and Labor International then lies not only in its own strength, but also in the fact that, for the rea-

sons I have already stated, it is able to act as a rallying center for all or nearly all the other genuinely democratic peace advocates.

The Socialist movement of Europe, through its international and all its national organizations, made every effort to prevent the war. It failed for the very simple reason that it was not yet strong enough. The war came and for the time the Socialist movement was, though not completely disrupted, yet almost paralyzed. In nearly all of the countries some of its leaders and a portion of its rank and file were swept off their feet by the unreasoning epidemic passion, which war always tends to. Much more important, however, was the fact that to some extent, in all of the belligerent countries—to a very great extent, especially in Germany and France, once hostilities have begun the question presented itself as one of protecting the fatherland against actual or threatened invasion and possibly subjugation and dismemberment. Rightly or wrongly, in so far as this was the case in the various countries, most of the Socialists in common with the mass of population rallied to the national defence. Then, as months dragged on without any decisive result coming into sight, the International Socialist Bureau removed at the beginning of the war from invaded Belgium to neutral Holland, with Dutch Socialists added to its executive committee, but with its loyal secretary, Camille Huysmans (no less devoted to internationalism for being also a genuinely patriotic Belgian) still at its head, resumed its activity within a few months after the outbreak of the war. It has maintained direct relations with the Socialist parties of all the belligerent and neutral countries, and it has steadfastly and consistently labored to effect as soon as possible, not only a mutual understanding, but active and harmonious co-operation of all these parties in a simultaneous effort to bring the war to an end—not through diplomatic intrigue, but by the assertion of the popular will for peace—not through complete military triumph of either group of nations and the humiliation of the other, an event which, if conceived, would almost inevitably mean the strengthening of militarism and the perpetuation of the war danger, but through a negotiated peace on bases which it found already indicated to it in their main outlines in the declarations of the International Socialist Congresses held at Copenhagen in 1910, and at Basil in 1912, which correspond to the real interests of the masses of the people everywhere, and which have found acceptance among ever larger numbers of non-Socialist pacifists and Democrats as the war went on.

The main points of this program were as follows: *No punitive indemnities.* This does not exclude economic or political rehabilitation of the ravaged countries or districts in so far as rehabilitation may be possible. *No forcible annexations*—that is, no transfer of territory against the will or regardless of the desires of its inhabitants. General recognition of the rights of peoples to dispose of themselves. No economic war after the war of steel and blood—that is, no alliance of nations to thwart the industrial and commercial development of other nations. On the contrary, an international agreement for the freedom of the seas, straits and other paths of navigation and the

most rapid possible extension of the policy of free trade in the colonies as well as in the home land. Suppression of secret diplomacy, parliamentary control of foreign relations, and, as a beginning in this, participation of parliamentary representatives as well as diplomats in the general Peace Conference. Democratization of the governments—a demand which applies with a special force naturally to the states of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe; this change to be effected not by foreign bayonets, but by the will of the respective peoples as has lately so happily been the case in Russia. General acceptance of the principle of mediation and the eventual arbitration of future disputes between nations. And finally simultaneous and progressive reduction of military and naval armaments, leading to complete disarmament.

The task of the bureau has not been an altogether easy one. All of the Socialist parties were from the start willing to accept the program in principle, except perhaps for some reservations on the first two points—those concerning annexations and indemnities. But the majorities, especially in France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, were all influenced by a fear that readiness to participate in a general peace movement, in a vigorous internal opposition to the war policies of their respective governments, would be construed abroad as a sign of national weakness—nay, would even actually impair the national defense. It has taken time and bitter experience to diminish, and even now not altogether to remove this fear. The Conference of the Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Socialist parties at Copenhagen in January, 1915, of the British, Belgian, French and Swiss, at London in the following months, of the German, Austrian, and Hungarian at Vienna in April, 1915, and of the Dutch, Danish, Swedish and the American and the Argentine Socialist parties, with the concurrence of the Norwegian, Swiss, Spanish and Roumanian at the Hague in July and August, 1916—these, together with some minor gatherings of Socialists from different nations, all contributed something toward clearing the way for an agreement. But much more was done by the quiet and patient work of the International Secretary and the members of the Executive Committee of the Bureau and by the action of the minorities within the various national divisions of the movement in their respective countries, greatly aided, especially in Great Britain and in the neutral countries by those non-socialists, pacifists and democratic forces, to which I have already more than once referred.

I am confident that there is to-day the best of reason to hope that all this tireless and devoted effort is now about to bear fruit, bringing the most frightful war in all history to such an ending as no war has led to in the past, and by methods which were never before within the bounds of possibility. Three conditions outside of the efforts just mentioned have worked toward the realization of that hope. In the first place the war drags on month after month with so little change in the relative fighting strength of the parties,

with such slow approach to decisive exhaustion of either side, that even now, after the entrance of the United States into the conflict, statesmen and military men talk of a fourth and a fifth and even a sixth year of war before victory can be won. The misery of the soldiers in the field and of the men, women and children at home—not on one side but on both—grows in an accelerating ratio. Hunger has long been felt, world-wide famine seems not far off, and with intolerable misery come a passionate longing for peace, growing doubt whether any conceivable fruits of victory can be worth the costs, and especially growing indignation against rulers who refuse even to consider the possibility of a negotiated peace and who seem to contemplate an indefinite prolongation of the war with complete unconcern for the horrors which they personally do not have to bear.

In the second place, the war began without hate, so far as the masses were concerned. In each of the countries among the lower middle classes, as well as among the peasants and the wage workers, there was a widespread recognition that the people of the enemy country were not to blame and that all the governments were to blame, though, perhaps, not all in equal measure. The war and its atrocities brought hate, which for a time obscured this just view of the facts, but the wave of hatred is again subsiding, has very largely subsided, in spite of the desperate efforts of certain sections of the press in all the countries to keep it up. By simple familiarity, the popular mind is getting adjusted to the war, not in the sense of becoming reconciled to it, but in the sense of becoming able to regard it objectively, to think about it in a logical manner, to ask with increasing eagerness and insistence what it is all about, whether it need go on, whether the aims of the various governments are indeed identical with the needs and desires of the various people, and to demand of the government a definite and concrete statement of war aims and acceptable peace terms, so that the people may be in a position to judge for themselves.

And in the third place, the overthrow of the Russian autocracy has changed the whole political situation and transformed the background of the war. The spectacle of a people casting off the government that had so long oppressed them and threatened others has given an immense stimulus to the latent revolutionary spirit throughout Europe, and awakened among the masses a consciousness of their power. The action of the Russian working class revolutionists in forcing or instructing their new provisional government to set the example of stating its peace terms in an unmistakable manner, definitely and conclusively, repudiating all aggressive and imperialistic purposes, taking the initiative in an international popular movement for a speedy, general, and lasting negotiated peace—all this not only strengthens the democratic peace movement in the Allied countries and in the United States, but what is more important, it takes away from the German and Austro-Hungarian movements one of their strongest pretexts—if not the very strong-

est—for adhering to the *durchhalten* policy and puts the responsibility upon the masses in the central countries of Europe, by giving them the increased opportunity for bringing pressure to bear upon their rulers.

It would take more time than can be spared to give any kind of full picture of what we know about the conditions in the various countries, with regard to the movement for a democratic peace. There are only a few typical facts that I desire to remind you of at this moment. The German Social Democracy, its members in the Reichstag, voted unanimously, so far as they were present—and most of them were present in the Reichstag at the beginning of 1914—for the war credits, although registering a protest against the conduct of the government, which had led to the war. It was not until December that two of the Social Democratic members broke the unanimity by voting against the credits. In the following spring, about twenty out of 110 members voted "No" on the credits, and about another twenty or a little more than twenty, abstained from voting—a somewhat less emphatic method of demonstration against the war policy of the government. From this time on, the Social Democratic members of the Reichstag, more or less clearly divided into a majority and a minority, the minority for now more than two years, numbering fully two-fifths of the Socialist representatives in the Reichstag and growing since that time bit by bit.

It is impossible to speak with any authority—I suppose impossible even for anyone in Germany to speak with complete authority as to how many among the party members and among the adherence of the party are represented respectively by the majority and the minority, yet it is clear that in the largest and strongest districts, the so-called minority—the anti-governmental faction—is the actual majority among the rank and file of the party, and it is also clear that in many districts whose representatives belong to the majority which has co-operated with the government, the rank and file has expressed itself in a directly opposite sense, and has given the world to understand that those representatives do not any longer reflect the sentiments of their constituents. It seems clear that if the so-called "minority" do not already represent an actual majority of the party they must at least come very near doing so and that their strength is growing day by day.

Within the last few months the difference between the majority and the extreme minority came to the point of the formation of a separate organization within the party, and finally of the formation of a separate and independent Social Democratic party, comprising about one-fifth of the full Social Democratic movement. This schism simply indicates the increasing vigor of the popular opposition to the undemocratic and militaristic attitude which the government still maintains. We, of course, do not always know just how much to believe of dispatches that perhaps first have to pass the German censorship and then have to pass the Allied censorship

of the Associated Press before getting published, but with all allowance and with careful reading between the lines, it is certain that throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary, within the last two weeks, and particularly at the May Day time, there were very extensive popular demonstrations in the form of strikes, not merely economic strikes for wages or for some other material demand, but strikes having a distinctly political significance, and that were distinctly demonstrations unfavorable to the policy of the government and in favor of the movement for a democratic peace.

It is certain that considering the very difficult conditions which prevailed with a government vastly more efficient than was the old Russian autocracy, and therefore the more difficult to defy, these demonstrations were very remarkable indeed. Our chairman has already referred to the fact that within the last month the German government was assured in the Reichstag that if it failed to meet a genuine proposal for democratic peace revolution in Germany would be the consequence. That declaration is all the more impressive because it came from the mouth of a man who is, by no means, a leader of forlorn hopes—from the mouth of one of the most conservative of the party—one who cannot be supposed to speak in such a tone unless he speaks with authority, and with a pretty definite mandate from his constituents. At the same time amidst the howls and jeers, of course, of the reactionaries, the definite cry for a German republic was raised by George Ledebour on behalf of the Social Democrats, and there are indications that the reason that it caused such indignation among the conservatives was that it has actually appealed to the hearts of very large numbers among the people.

In the dispatches the other day there was a report of a lecture by a University professor. The German University professor has not within any time during the last sixty years been expected to be a radical, popular leader, and so when Herr Professor Dr. Von Werneck declared publicly that the Prussian people are tired of being ruled by the Junkertum he thought there was a large number of Germans who already heartily agreed before the declaration would be made. It is also pretty clear from the recent attitude of the Frankfurter Zeitung and of the Tageblatt that not only among the working class, but among the very large middle class elements, there was a determined opposition to the annexation, militaristic policies of the Junkertum, and of certain of the great capitalistic interests, and a decided tendency toward the acceptance of any means by which could be brought about a negotiated peace upon the lines generally indicated in the movement that we have just been considering.

Of the events in Austria-Hungary it is not so easy to speak because our information is extremely inadequate.

In France, within the Socialist movement, already as much as ten months ago, a minority of about two-fifths of the party, in

repeated votes in the meetings of the Party Council, while declaring for the continuance of the National Defense, so long as the war went on, insistently voted for the rehabilitation of the International—for the calling of a general International Conference, and for an active effort to unite the parties of the various countries in bringing about a general peace. The decision of the French Socialists to send delegates to the Stockholm Conference is a great turning point, because it has been the refusal (a refusal which could not altogether be condemned, in view of the presence of German troops upon French soil) of the majority of the French Socialist Party to participate in such a Conference that has chiefly stood in the way of the holding of such a Conference for fully a year past.

As for England, the British Socialist party has, by an overwhelming majority, since the beginning, stood up vigorously against the war policy of the Government, and there has been a small secession from it on that account. The very much larger Independent Labor Party has by an overwhelming majority supported this position, and with the support of five of its seven members of Parliament, and with the very able service of its Board, the Independent Labor Party has been the center of the persistent and quite wonderful movement that has been carried on in England for the earliest possible negotiated and democratic peace. It was said in one of the great newspapers in this city, about ten months ago, by an Englishman—a rather eminent Englishman—that there were not more than one thousand pacifists in all England. I happen to know, having just been in England—within a month before that time—in the summer of 1916—the Union for Democratic Control and similar organizations, had succeeded in getting more than one hundred thousand signers within a few weeks to a so-called "Stop the War Petition"—a petition calling upon the Government to enter into negotiations for peace, and a number of these signatures, I understand, within a few more weeks, rose to at least two hundred thousand. The signing of such a petition, under the circumstances there existing, was to invite blacklist, insult and ostracism in very many quarters.

At the January Conference of labor—of that large Federation which includes the Independent Labor Party, the British Socialist Party and many trade unions, in January of this year (that is, before the Russian revolution and the events that it brought about), there was a vote of one-fourth or rather more in favor of a rather far-reaching resolution urging immediate negotiations for peace. In view of the situation of the Labor Party, a vote of 25 per cent. in its convention was a very remarkable demonstration.

MORRIS HILLQUIT (paper read by Algernon Lee).

Since the outbreak of the war numerous efforts have been made to bring about a general International Conference of Socialists for the purpose of working out a peace programme acceptable to all parties

to the conflict, and particularly to the Socialists of all countries, belligerent and neutral alike. These efforts in all cases emanated from neutral countries, but later, also, from the Italian Socialist Party and a section of the English Socialist Movement (the Independent Labor Party).

As far as the Socialist Party of the United States is concerned it called for such a conference as early as September 24, 1914, and renewed the suggestion on several subsequent occasions. As a result of these movements some conferences of neutrals and some separate conferences of the Socialists in the allied countries and in the central powers were held, but all moves for a general conference failed, because it seemed almost impossible to find common ground between the Socialists in the contending countries.

The President's address to the Senate, the broad and forceful formulation of his peace programme and the manner in which it was promulgated seemed to pave the way for such a conference. The programme was formally endorsed by the Socialists of France and Italy and also by those of Austria and was favorably received by the Socialists of all other countries, neutral and belligerent.

When the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of this country met a few days after the date of the President's address to the Senate, it was felt that at a time when the Chief Executive of this Republic thought it appropriate to address the governments of the world on the subject of peace, the American Socialists could do no less than to initiate a similar movement among the Socialists of the world. The Executive Committee therefore cabled the following message to the International Socialist Bureau:

"Convinced that the time is ripe for a revival of the Socialist International on the basis of a concerted working class movement for an immediate, just and lasting peace, the Socialist party of the United States requests that an International Congress be called June 3, 1917, at The Hague. Unless by March 1 the Bureau takes steps to call such Congress, our party will consider itself justified in taking direct initiative."

Similar messages were sent by cable to every Socialist Party, neutral or belligerent, affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau.

This movement of the American Socialists was immediately supported by the Socialists of Holland, and the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau announced that it would take steps to call such a conference at the earliest opportunity. Such opportunity presented itself with the overthrow of Russian autocracy, and the calling of the Stockholm Conference is the result.

The charge that the Stockholm Conference was engineered by the German Government or even by the German Socialists has not the slightest foundation in fact. The Socialists of Germany were invited to take part in the conference just as were the Socialists of other countries. The arrangements for the conference are in the hands

of the International Socialist Bureau, which consists of representatives of the Socialist Parties of all countries, and the practical work is being done by the Executive Committee of the Bureau consisting of the members from Belgium and Holland. These are Emile Vandervelde, Camille Huysmans, Edouard Anseele, P. J. Troelstra and Henri Van Kal, and since the conference is to take place in Stockholm the Committee is assisted by the Socialist Party of Sweden under the leadership of Hjalmar Branting. Anyone who knows these men and their stand in this war would know how utterly ridiculous it is to charge them with promoting a pro-German enterprise.

The notion that a pro-German element would dominate the Stockholm conference is absurd for another reason. At the proposed conference, as at all meetings of International Socialist gatherings, the vote is by nationalities, each nation having a number of votes proportionate to the importance of the country and the strength of its Socialist and Labor Movement. Upon the established basis the voting strength of the different national groups at the Stockholm conference will be as follows:

CENTRAL POWERS

Germany	20
Austria	20
Hungary	6
Bulgaria	4
	50

In this connection it must be remembered that the twenty votes allotted to Germany would have to be divided between the majority and minority wings of the party and that the 20 votes allowed to Austria include Bohemia.

ALLIED COUNTRIES.

Belgium	12
France	20
England	20
Italy	15
Roumania	4
Russia	20
Servia	4
United States	20
Finland	8
	123

NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

Denmark	10
Holland	8
Norway	6
Sweden	8
Switzerland	10
Spain	6
	48

Poland (Russian, Austrian and German) has together ten votes.

These figures show at a glance how impossible it would be for Germany to dominate an International Socialist Conference.

ALGERNON LEE:

I may add that in view of the news which has been coming to us day by day from Petrograd, I am sure that we all realize the equal absurdity of the suggestion which has been made in certain quarters that there was a deep and dark conspiracy to lure the representatives of the Russian Social Democracy to Stockholm and to trick them, and to deceive them, and that it was necessary for the United States to take steps to prevent their so being lured and deceived, and to give good advice to the inexperienced democracy of Russia. I believe we are inclined to take off our hats to the democracy of Russia, which is the result of fifty years fighting for the victory which it has now won, and which we are all to share.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, a veteran of the Russo-Japanese War, and a participant in the Russian Revolution of 1905: *The Russian Situation.*

I have but a few minutes to touch on so vast a subject as the recent overturning in Russia. In the beginning we were told that the Russian Revolution was made possible by the Liberalists of Russia, who simply were afraid the Russian Czar and his bureaucracy might make a separate peace with Germany. After the revolution was an accomplished fact, we were told that the revolution was made by Germany so as to get the Russian revolutionary proletariat to make a separate peace with Germany. I cannot understand this logic.

The fact of the matter is that the revolution was effected by the Russian workers and soldiers and that they were not even assisted by the Russian Liberalists, for the simple reason that the Russian Liberalists are not interested in what the Russian revolutionists are trying to accomplish at this particular time. To be sure, they were anxious to secure more freedom for Russia, for an independent development of Russian capitalism, but they were rather afraid of the Russian proletariat, which would take control of the affairs—which might renounce the continuance of war and especially of the desire of the bourgeoisie of Russia for Constantinople, for instance—that is why you have read recently of the fact that the government had such leaders as Miliukoff and Gutchkoff.

The Russian Revolution is really an anti-war revolution. The active revolution began as soon as war was declared, because at the same time that was war declared in Russia, you found thousands of Russian workers parading the streets of Petrograd and Moscow and other industrial centers, demanding the ending of the war—anti-war demonstrations were held throughout Russia, anti-war literature was distributed in Russia, and in the Duma itself the few Socialist Deputies, knowing they were always under the watch of the government, steadfastly stood against the war, and when the budget came

up for consideration they left the Duma as a protest, and did not vote the war credits. In fact, later, five Socialist Deputies were sent to Siberia for anti-war propaganda. The Russian Revolution was born in this anti-war movement of the Russian workers and the mass of the people, and that is why it is very much apropos that a conference of this sort should take its inspiration from the achievements of the Russian Revolution.

We were not able to understand until now, when the Russian papers are reaching us, what was going on in the early days of the revolution. The papers are now reporting that the demonstrations which followed the general strike proclaimed in Petrograd were made by masses of people marching through the streets with large banners on which was written, "We want liberty," "We want peace." It was simply a revolt of the masses of the people against the continuation of this war.

We are told now that we ought to favor an army—we ought to favor militarism because the revolution would not have been possible but for the help of the army. Now, as a matter of fact, as one who has served in the army in war, I can say that this is not an argument in favor of militarism, but the best possible argument against militarism and against an army, because the present army, which has revolted, and which united with the working class, was not an established standing army. The established standing army was killed off during the first two and a half years of the war. The present armies represent workers drawn from the reserves—people who have participated in the Revolution of 1905, who served in the Russian-Japanese War, and were therefore opposed to the government—those drawn from the classes of people opposed to the government—people opposed to militarism. They could not have got this army two years ago or a year ago. They were fresh from the masses of the population, rather than trained professional soldiers. And so it is absolutely untrue that militarism has helped this revolution now. It is just the contrary.

Another thing to be cleared up is the question of a separate peace. Now, there is no such intention, except for a very small minority in Russia—a group of extreme Socialists, or as they call themselves, Anarchists. As a matter of fact, the entire Socialist movement is for a general peace—for a universal peace—for two reasons. First of all, because the entire Russian Socialist democracy which is now in control of the affairs in Russia is completely international. The whole Russian working class is imbued with internationalism. It has been taught so from the very beginning. On the other hand, as the Chairman has indicated, they also want to free themselves, in order to solve their own internal problems, because there are thousands of officials of the old regime, priests and others, scattered throughout the country, and they may be easily working for a counter-revolution. The Russian provincial government is anxious for peace, both from the international point of view, and from a purely internal point of view,

not because they want to help Germany or any particular group. Just yesterday I met a few Russian sailors, now in this country. I asked them what was the first effect this revolution had on the masses of the people. They said, "The first thing, it made it possible for us to ask the government, 'What are we fighting for?'"

And that is exactly what the Russian people are asking just now, and it finds expression in the government. As a fugitive myself—one who has found a haven here in America as a political refugee—I wish to invite to free Russia, all those who are working for peace, and find themselves uncomfortable here.

DR. J. L. MAGNES:

I cannot resist taking some of our valuable time by saying that I understand that a society has actually been projected in Russia—somewhat copying the name of a society that has done very good work here for a number of years before the Russian Revolution. Some of us have been connected with it—The American Friends of Russian Freedom. I understand that they have projected a society in Russia known as the Russian Friends of American Freedom.

LOUIS P. LOCHNER: *The Scandinavian Countries.*

The inspiring impression that I took home with me from over half a year's stay in Scandinavia was that of how intensely the peoples there are working on the problems of democracy and peace. We think of them as monarchies, and often assume that therefore there is very little democracy among them. As a matter of fact, they are very democratic, possibly even more so than America. There is also an impression, hard to eradicate, that Sweden, for instance, is a pro-German country. That seems to be an impression over here that is hard to eradicate. It is true that the military caste in Sweden is pro-German and its army is patterned upon the German model, but the heart of the people is pro-peace. They want to keep out of this war at all cost.

On May 18th of last year, when, as I happen to know, the British minister at Stockholm had packed up his papers, preparatory to leaving the country, because it seemed that twenty-four hours later the imperialistic class might declare war on the side of Germany, throughout the length and breadth of that country immense protest meetings sprang up. The crisis was averted. It was not only the Social Democratic party, though that is a tremendously strong factor in Sweden—it was the whole fabric of society, with the exception of a very small class at the top. I attended a number of the meetings. Everywhere the people were insistent that the government must not go into the war.

The peace movement there is far more a movement of the people, a movement of the rank and file, than it has been over here. Perhaps that is true because up to the time that this war came upon us, or

shortly before then, the peace movement was largely owned by the Carnegie Peace Trust. They have no such thing in Sweden. It is there, truly, a movement of the people.

Another thing to consider is that the Parliaments of Sweden, Norway and Denmark were constantly working upon the problem of how to maintain their neutrality. It was a curious thing for me to find my friends asking me, Why is not the American Congress doing anything toward keeping in touch with the rest of us, to see whether the parliaments, the people's representatives, if the government or administration should happen to fail, cannot do something to avoid the further spread of the world cataclysm. I answered that it was perhaps specifically the business of the American group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

This Inter-Parliamentary Union is made up of members of Parliament of all countries who believe in the cause of arbitration, of international organization, etc. During the war the groups of the inter-Parliamentary Union of the three Scandinavian countries, as well as of Switzerland and of Holland, have made it their special business to try from time to time to bring pressure to bear upon their governments, in the direction of renewing their peace efforts, but from every side came the answer, "We cannot do anything, so long as the American group does not answer." When I returned here I tried to find out why it was that the American group was not doing anything, and I found, as one explanation, perhaps, that the secretary of that group is at the same time one of the secretaries of the Carnegie Peace Foundation. I was told over here that the State Department and others thought it was a very delicate matter for the members of Congress to meddle in any way with the international situation, etc. But I said, "Here are these members of the Scandinavian Parliaments, who do not seem to think that it is beyond the pale of their business to try to help along the cause of internationalism, and I pointed especially to the case of Switzerland, which has repeatedly asked that the other neutral groups of the Inter-Parliamentary Union should get together. I was given the answer that what may be good for Switzerland is not good for America.

In the Scandinavian countries the people have been working intensely on the problem of international organization after the war. As an evidence of this, when President Wilson made his peace effort in December, I believe that there the thing was far more thoroughly gone into than on our side of the water. After people had analyzed the proposals that the President made, then the Parliamentary Union group, the peace people, the Socialists, all brought pressure to bear upon their governments, so that the three Scandinavian governments jointly endorsed Mr. Wilson's movement for peace, and were followed in so doing by Switzerland, and finally by Holland at the last moment, because of its very delicate position. I feel that if we are engaged in the promotion of the cause of democracy and peace, one

of the best things that we possibly can do would be to send forth from the American movement, that I hope will develop out of this, a delegation that will stay in touch with Europe at some spot in Scandinavia where there is real democracy, where they can breathe the free air and be in touch constantly with those many international currents, with which they can come in contact there, so that we may, on this side of the water, be better informed than we are now, as to the progress that democracy is making throughout Europe.

Second Session

Wednesday, 3.30 P. M.

Chairman, Florence Kelley.

MORRIS HILLOQUIT, International Secretary of the Socialist Party for the United States, reporting for the Committee on Peace.
Terms of Peace.

Madam Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Our government, through the Committee on Public Information, which is a euphemistic name for the Censorship Bureau, has just issued a suggestion to the press that the discussion of peace in these troubled times would generally not be favored by the government, because peace conferences may be inspired by the enemy governments. After the war is over and peace has been established you free-born and American citizens may talk and think peace to your heart's delight. You may then even join a peace society—one of those that are so very active in times of peace and so very passive and silent in times of war. Now, we proceeded upon the theory that, notwithstanding the wise suggestion of the Committee of Public Information, it is the patriotic duty and the humanitarian duty of every citizen of this country at this time—in time of war—to think and talk peace, and to hold the ideal of peace—for, after all, even the administration, even the ultra-militarists of this country, will not contend that we are in war now just for the pleasure of fighting. Presumably, we are fighting for an object, and presumably, when this object has been attained, there will be no more cause for fight. There will be peace, and we say that if by our activities, if by holding the ideal of ultimate and speedy world peace before the people of this country and the people of the world at all times, we should do no more than to shorten the duration of this war by a month, a week, or a day, our activities will be fully justified.

In the thousand days, or thereabouts, that this war has been raging, about six million human beings have been killed—an average of six thousand a day. Every day of the war costs over one hundred million dollars to the belligerents, every day of the war sees boundless, unspeakable suffering all over the world. Is it not then a purpose worthy of our best efforts to save some of these thousands or hundred thousands of human lives, to save some shred, some particle of modern civilization from this war. Now, we say besides that the peace we are striving for is not to be a mere temporary truce. Just because this was has been so extensive and so deadly, just because it has been the most terrible war known to history, it must be

made the last of all wars, and the terms of peace which we are called upon to work for, to talk over, are terms of such a peace as will be a lasting, perpetual, eternal peace among the nations.

In other words, we are not primarily interested in the immediate patching up of political differences between the nations. Whether or not the boundary line is moved upon the map to some extent—whether or not a certain indemnity has been paid by one nation to another—whether or not the feeling of resentment or revenge has been gratified, will not fundamentally alter the fate of the nations for centuries to come, but whether or not this war shall end with the world-wide arrangement which will prevent all future wars and will at last advance human beings to the state of real civilized men and women—that is fundamental—that will count for all ages to come.

And so then we set this first, that at the end of this war, as a basis of all peace treaties, there must be a definite international arrangement to secure and maintain peace forever.

We know perfectly well that this is a dream that has been dreamed by many and many an advanced mind in past decades, generations and centuries, but what we see is that only now—only on account of this war—an actual, realistic, compelling basis for such an organization has been created. No nation after this war can attempt to continue a separate, sequestered existence in hostility or antagonism with other nations. This war—no matter what its immediate cause—is essentially a war for international trade and markets. It is not the act of the maniac who killed the Austrian Archduke which precipitated the world into this terrible catastrophe. It is the fact that the world has been at war, if not under arms, long before that outbreak. It is the contradiction between the international character of our trade, our commerce, our relations, on the one hand, and the artificial, narrow, national boundaries, on the other, that has brought about this war.

Our commerce, our trade, our intercourse, to-day, has long outgrown national boundaries. Every great business enterprise is conducted with international scope. We are producing for a world market to-day—we are trading in a world market. Economically and commercially, it is one—one organization—and the way in which, particularly in Europe, people have tried to parcel out this world into rigid nations or countries with rigid boundary lines, separated from each other by various and conflicting treaties and customs, duties and other artificial restrictions, that caused the jealousies and frictions and eventually the war with which we are confronted to-day.

So we say that after this war the self-interest of every great nation will lie in the direction of establishing an international organization between the nations. There is nothing Utopian about it. All the nations of Europe will be compelled to follow the example of the United States. Have separate nations? Yes. Separate governments? Yes. Our states have them. But freedom of commerce, freedom of intercourse on equal terms to all people and all these nations just as

well as we have them in all the states. Such an international federation, whatever may be its exact form, will have to be based upon an international constitution in the shape of a collective treaty between the nations, just as our country, as a whole, is based upon a national constitution. It will have to be a constitution guaranteeing to the various nations their prime necessities of existence, the freedom of the seas, the freedom of trade and commerce, the freedom of waterways, the security of each individual nation or nationality, and it will have to do that by a concrete organization which must include some instrumentality—a court or a board for the adjudication of all international disputes.

If ever proof was required of the absolute futility, as well as the criminality of settling international disputes by the force of arms, this unfortunate war has furnished that proof.

The world will learn after this war that the only way to adjust rationally and clearly international disputes is by an appeal to reason—by an appeal to justice—not by an appeal to brute force.

And when we speak of an international Court of Justice, we do not have in view anything like the League for the Enforcement of Peace, based on armed military strength. By no means! There are other and more efficient methods of maintaining peace without physical force. You know, each one of you, of a number of organizations, voluntarily created by individuals, which have the power to force compliance with the laws and rules, without resort to force. Every trade union man here knows that if he is fined, he will pay his fine. Why? Because he will fear suspension or expulsion from his organization, and membership in his organization is vital to him in his every-day life. So, likewise, in an organization of modern nations, with their intimate economic inter-dependence, the mere suggestion or threat of an expulsion from the international community of nations will be more effective than any army could possibly be.

Imagine for a moment a modern nation, particularly in Europe, being threatened with expulsion, say from the Postal Union, from telegraph communication, from commerce, from interchange of commodities, from access to certain courts, from access to certain sources of raw material. How long could such a nation exist if left entirely alone with all ties between other nations cut? Not twenty-four hours.

We do not propose an international police. We do not propose an international army. We do not believe we can successfully combat militarism by an extended system of militarism. On the contrary, we urge in our program the abolition, as fast as possible, immediately, if possible, of all armies and all navies, and all engines of destruction. And when we advocate disarmament—complete disarmament, if possible to-day—we are not indulging in Utopian dreams. At no time in the world's history have conditions been so favorable to disarmament, so compelling in the direction of disarmament, as they will be after the war.

There will be two good reasons why the governments of Europe will be eager to adopt such a plan, for in the first place, to maintain an army, men are required. In the second place, to maintain an army money is required. The governments of Europe at the conclusion of this war will have neither men nor money to maintain an army. But after the war is over the forces of manhood will essentially, vitally, be required for the ordinary pursuits of peace and industry. Where will there be the hundreds and thousands of men to be maintained in idleness, in standing armies, particularly in view of the fact that if standing armies are to be maintained after this war it must be done upon a basis so colossal as to exhaust every available industrial force in each country.

Again, bear this in mind, to-day the national debt of the leading countries at war in Europe is in the neighborhood of thirty billion dollars. Can you realize what that means? An annual interest charge of about one billion and a half dollars—six billion marks—seven and a half billion francs—in interest charges alone, annually, not taking into account any payment on principal. The governments of Europe, when the war is over, will have to rebuild their countries. They will require vast sums of money for purposes of peaceful reconstruction—more money than they required before the war. Where will these governments raise enough money to pay interest on these tremendous war debts, which are growing still from day to day, to pay part of the principal of those tremendous war debts, to defray all the legitimate expense of administration, and still raise the tremendous sums of money additionally required for the maintainence of standing armies or large navies? I maintain that even if the governments, or rather the peoples of the various governments, repudiate the tremendous war debts, as they should, even then I say there will be no resources left in the various nations to maintain standing armies. The demand for disarmament to-day is a highly practical demand.

And there is another reason why we are nearer the realization of this world dream now than ever before. Armies always have been the weapon of tyrannies. Armies always have meant not only menace to peace between nations, but they have meant menace to liberties at home for every nation. And the peoples of Europe are awakening to this fact. The peoples are determined to take the administration of their own affairs into their own hands, and to guard their liberties against tyranny. There will never again, after this war, be a large standing, crushing army in Russia, because the Russian people will no longer want to crush their people at home or abroad. And the example of Russia will soon be followed by the peoples in the other countries. After the war the world will be governed by true democrats, by the people in each country, and that will of necessity mean the end of all militarism, of all wars.

Now, when we have established the general principles upon which a lasting peace is to be built, the settlement of the immediate disputes between nations is no longer of momentous importance. It is only in the light of these general terms of peace that we can comprehend the

specific terms of peace advanced now by the liberal and radical elements all over the world, and most tersely expressed by revolutionary Russia: no forcible annexation—no punitive damages—free national development of all peoples.

No forcible annexation—no robbery of territory—no robbery of nations—no enslavement of nations. Is that really such a traitorous, unpatriotic demand to be made upon the powers of Europe, upon the powers in the war at this time. No indemnities—no payment of tremendous sums of money of one country to the other? Can we make any other demand at this time? Let me prophecy here that when we say no punitive indemnities, this does not exclude opportunity for compensation for economic losses to countries willfully invaded and violated, such as Belgium, compensation either by those primarily responsible for it—I mean Germany—or perhaps, as it has been repeatedly and I think cogently suggested, by all nations at war. Aside from these exceptions which do not disturb the general principle, can we possibly advance any other general terms of peace than one that excludes indemnities? How can indemnities be raised and paid now? Every one of the countries at war is impoverished. Its people are starving in most cases. Even without payment of heavy indemnities, it may take a generation before they will rebuild their lands, before they will be able to resume a normal condition of human existence. Is it physically possible to expect those peoples, right or wrong—and they are all of them in a way wrong—to raise billions and billions more to pay as a penalty to other countries? Where will it come from? We speak of indemnities usually in a way as if it meant that Kaiser Wilhelm II would take out his private check book and write out a check to the other countries, and we would say to him, "Serves you right." Indemnities do not come from the governments. Indemnities will not come from those primarily responsible for this war. Indemnities, if they are levied, will come by heavy taxation upon the necessities of the life of the people. Indemnities will mean more starvation, more suffering for all nations of the people, and indemnities and annexation of territory will mean grudges—will mean resentment—will mean the germs of subsequent wars. No indemnities—no annexation—implies practically peace without victory—implies practically a peace which will show conclusively to the peoples of all the world, and for all time to come, the absolute futility of this war and of all wars.

We are told that to endorse to-day this program first advanced by the Russian revolution is working into the hands of Germany. It is making for a pro-German peace. Well, it was not so long ago that the Chief Magistrate of this country made the following statement, which I should like you to read and reread and repeat, day after day, to all with whom you discuss terms of peace or war. He said, "they (the terms of peace proposed by him) implied first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this," said the President. "I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it, and that it may be understood with no other interpreta-

tion was my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser—a victorious term imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted under humiliation—under duress—at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting—a resentment—a bitter memory, upon which all peace would rest not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only peace between equals can last. Only peace, the very principle of which is equality and the common participation in a common benefit."

Now, then, I am asking you—I am asking the people of the United States—whether anything has changed in the situation of the world since these wise words were spoken? Has our entrance into the war changed this general, universal, human principle, so eloquently laid down by the President of this country? Has it not become all the more imperative? Has it not become all the more vital, because the scene of conflict has been extended to embrace another powerful country, and to hold out the prospect of another indefinite prolongation of this war? From the point of view of lasting, of durable peace, we can paraphrase the statement of the President of the United States, and say, We are faced by two alternatives: Peace without a victory, but a lasting, durable peace, or Victory without Peace, without a durable peace at any rate.

Finally, in our program, we call upon our administration to state definitely and concretely its terms of peace. We call upon our administration to induce our allies to state their terms of peace. We say if this is done, if the world knows what we are fighting for, the central powers will be forced to state their terms of peace. Not only that, but they will be forced to accept our terms of peace, if they are based upon justice, upon equity, upon the principles of democracy and lasting peace, because in the long run the central powers do not mean the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, because in the long run the central powers consist of masses of people, thinking, feeling, suffering, longing for peace, and for perpetual peace, just as we do here. And when these people discover that we are holding out to them and to the world terms of peace which imply no humiliation and no punishment, but which imply a guarantee of permanent peace, if the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs stand in the way of accepting such terms, the people of Germany, of Russia, of Austria, will see to it, as the people of Russia have seen to it to-day, that their government is destroyed and democracy enthroned.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY read the following resolution presented by Mr. Shiplacoff for incorporation in the platform of the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace:

RESOLUTIONS ON SMALL SUPPRESSED NATIONS

Whereas, within the dominion of the belligerent countries, there is a number of suppressed smaller nations, which, though bearing the burden of the war in common with the rest, are still subject to in-

equities imposed upon them by the dominant nations of their respective countries, and

Whereas, some of these nations are deprived of their civic and political rights; be it therefore

Resolved, that the FIRST AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND TERMS OF PEACE expresses itself in opposition to this state of affairs as unjust and undemocratic.

In anticipation of a treaty of peace among the warring nations, this Conference urges the government of the United States to use its good offices in behalf of these submerged nationalities, and to demand for them the enjoyment of equal civic and political rights with the rest of the people of their respective countries; also, wherever practicable, the right of local independence and full opportunity for cultural development.

PROFESSOR WM. I. HULL, Professor of International Relations, Swarthmore College, Pa.: *Entangling Alliances.*

Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

George Washington, whose name and memory are revered also in New York City had some very serious and wise words to say to the American people, as to the danger and the wrong of entering into entangling alliances. As a student to some extent of European history, George Washington knew of the many foolish, wicked, will-of-the-wisp chases which had been engaged in under the banner of entangling alliances—alliances of Great Britain with Prussia, and then the alliance of Great Britain with France, the alliance of France with Prussia against Austria, the alliance of France with Austria against Prussia. It is a perfect kaleidoscope of history when we attempt to follow those efforts to achieve international objects, by means of entangling alliances.

But the entangling alliances which George Washington could have known of are utterly insignificant in comparison with the entangling alliances possible in this twentieth century. With the increasing complexity of civilized life, with the increasing complexity especially of economic life, there are invisible entangling alliances, which have stretched out their arms like some mighty octopus and gripped every nation within them. Such entangling alliances are illustrated by the armament trusts, for example, which find their foothold and their strength in every great nation, and whose purpose in life it is to increase the demand and supply the demand for increasing armaments. The entangling alliances which have led the promoters in every great country to exploit the resources of backward peoples, which have built up these huge colonial imperialistic empires—these things are the chestnuts which the nations of this twentieth century are asked to pull out of the fire for each other.

I very much wish that the wisdom of a Washington could give expression to the danger, the folly, the wickedness of entering into

entangling alliances in this twentieth century, and the student of the years immediately preceding this present war is impressed very forcibly by the fact that the war was foreshadowed and made imperative by the building up of mighty entangling alliances. The triple alliance on the one hand, the Entente Cordiale on the other—these are the mighty opposing forces lined up against each other, armed to the teeth, which have made this war inevitable and unparalleled in frightfulness in all history. Is it possible that the United States of America is going to consider for a moment entering into any such partial entangling, unholy alliances as are represented across the ocean?

Another reason why we should keep out of entangling alliances is that the world is on a new pathway which differs from excessive nationalism on the one hand, and partial inimical alliances on the other. For the first time in human history the nations of the world joined hands at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 and together unanimously they took one step in advance—a short and feeble step thus far, but the fact that they have taken it and taken it together has made of this twentieth century a new era in human history. This awful war has threatened that new era. I believe that in spite of it, beyond it, the great task of international organization will proceed upon its course.

As Mr. Hillquit has suggested, this internationalism of our time must be more than a political and judicial understanding and plan of operation. It must include also an economic and an intellectual understanding and I would add to his words my conviction that there must be built up a great international public opinion, that the peoples of the world must not only know and appreciate each other, as we are learning here in America to understand and appreciate each other, but they must enlighten and organize a common, international public opinion, which shall reach around the world and support upon its pillars the international organization and the economic co-operation which we hope for in the future.

I have great faith, even in these days, when military power has cast its protean shadow across every land, in the other forces of our twentieth century civilization and among those other forces is the invincible power of an enlightened and organized public opinion. That is the greatest power in our own republic. Have you ever stopped to consider that upon that single support alone stands the Supreme Court of the United States—at least in its relations to the forty-eight States of the Union. As far as individuals are concerned, it has at its disposal a police power, and ultimately a military power, but that is not the case as far as the sovereign states of this union are concerned. In its relations with them it can look and does look only to the power of public opinion, and yet that apparently helpless court, which rests solely upon the despised power of public opinion, has successfully adjudicated more than seventy disputes between the states of this union; 243 international disputes have been settled by arbitration tribunals, and in not one single instance has the award of these tribunals been disputed. The permanent court of arbitration established in The Hague in 1899 has settled fifteen disputes between the nations,

and yet these tribunals, like the Supreme Court, rest solely upon the power of public opinion. Do not let us despair. There are great twentieth century forces, superior in every respect to the forces of the army and the navy, and it is to these powers that we give our allegiance.

In closing, I should like to call to your attention for a moment a plan in which I am personally very much interested—a plan which it seems to me should be adopted immediately and put into practice during this present war. For some weeks before the war began it was my task to endeavor to impress upon the Congress and the President the plan of an International Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation, which would thrash out, frankly and fully, the differences which existed between the United States and Germany, and also the differences which existed between the United States and Great Britain. I had proceeded far in its promotion, when I discovered that these differences were not the real causes of the war. If these misunderstandings alone had been the causes of this war, they could, and I believe they would, have been settled by an International Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation, but we had other aims in view and the plan was not adopted. Now we are in the war. It is prophesied on every hand that this war, unlike all other wars, is to be a war of daylight and not of darkness. Can we help to prevent it from becoming a war of darkness? Can we urge upon our government and through it upon the government of the other powers which are fighting—the central powers—the appointment of an International Commission, which shall follow up the victorious armies and bring to bear upon the operations of those armies the pitiless light of publicity? You remember those unspeakable atrocities which were committed at the time of the march of the Allied armies to Peking. You remember the unspeakable atrocities which were committed in the first and second Balkan wars. We appointed Commissions of Inquiry after those atrocities had been committed and they have reported upon the frightful deeds which were committed by the so-called civilized armies of western Europe. In the Peking expedition our own country was represented, though we hope not in the atrocities. Is it not possible that before such atrocities are committed, an International Commission should follow in the wake of the advancing armies?

I believe that such an International Commission could fulfill another very useful purpose. We are supposed to be in this war for international reasons, and not for the extension of national ambitions. We hope that some of those knotty outstanding problems of European politics, like the disposition of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, for example, will be solved in an international way, and that no one of the great powers shall be permitted to add an indefinite amount of the earth's territory and population to its already overgrown dimensions. Would it not facilitate the internationalization of those lands, if at the end of the war they shall be controlled by an International Commission, instead of by a victorious army of any one nation? May I appeal to this conference, then, to challenge, to test the idealism which our own country and the others have professed in their conduct

of this war, or rather to help our country and the others to realize the high ideals which they profess in this particular, amongst others in the name of justice, and of our poor common humanity, upon whom the weights of this awful war are bearing in such frightful ways.

LINDLEY M. KEASBEY, Professor of Political Science, University of Texas: *Democratization of Diplomacy*.

The question of the Democratization of Diplomacy is to my mind the great question of the day, but the democratization of diplomacy will not come until we have democratized our state. There is no confusion, it seems to me, at the present time greater than the confusion in all our minds between the state and the government. We are quite satisfied in America with a democratic government, not realizing that a democratic government can be run by a plutocratic state. My friends, our government is nothing more nor less than the political machine—it is the engine that you should look to, the engine which generates political power. In all ages of the world there are three productive powers—labor, land, and capital. Now, in the Golden Age, the age of the philosophers' natural state, the most important productive power was labor. Why? Because the land was free. Nobody attached any importance to the land. Why not capital? Because capital was not in existence. Therefore, people attached the greatest importance to labor. Therefore, strong men and wise men ruled over the world in those early days. It was a day when man was the measure of all things, and you notice that the state at that time was comparatively a democracy or an aristocracy of talent, and the diplomacy corresponded. Ambassadors of those days were ambassadors of strong men, or ambassadors of wise men.

Then there came the time when the surface of the earth was appropriated by these very strong men, the warriors, and by these very wise men, the priests, until the land became appropriated, and therefore rose in value. Through all the feudal ages, land was the paramount productive power—not man, but land, was then the measure of all things, and it was from land that sovereign political power was derived, and sovereign political powers of the world then or the feudal governments went into war for land, the paramount productive power.

But in the course of the feudal days, men came to differentiate different occupations, to introduce markets and money into the world. At that time the commercial era succeeded the proprietary period and a new productive power came into the world, capital—commercial power, which on the one side of the market, as you know, is selling power, and on the other side of the market is purchasing power, selling power embodied in goods and services, purchasing power embodied in coin and credit instruments. In the early days selling power was paramount, the merchants and the manufacturers and the farmers of our commercial era have made purchasing power the paramount power, and you have the rule of the money men. Now, if you have

your selling power and your purchasing power equitably divided among the citizens, then you have a democracy.

But suppose the great trusts combine and monopolize selling power, to the extent that selling power is the sovereign power of this country. Suppose the purchasing power has become paramount—even superior to selling power. Suppose at the present time this purchasing power is all thrown into the hands of a great money trust—then they, too, exercise sovereign political power, and that is exactly what they are doing everywhere in the world. In other words, capital has become the paramount productive power—selling power and purchasing power—therefore it exercises sovereignty and it controls both these powers, and we have gone far away from our individual democracy toward our modern plutocracy.

How can we avoid all this? As simply as can be. All we have to do is to advance out of the commercial era into the social state. Now, in the social state, my friends, sovereign power will not proceed from any one of these three productive powers. It will not proceed from labor, land, or capital. Whence then will it proceed? It will proceed from the common center around which labor, land and capital are co-operatively combined and we are well on our way in this journey. The social state is to be introduced first through the organization of labor—the negative organization of labor, industrially and agriculturally, to resist the exactions of capital, and oppose the restriction of land. This negative organization of labor is leading already in Europe and to some extent in our country toward the positive organization of labor. By this I mean two co-operative steps along agricultural and industrial lines. This agricultural and industrial co-operation will lead us from the organization of labor toward the progressive socialization of capital, and eventually lead toward the final liberation of land.

Now suppose labor is organized, capital is socialized, and the land is liberated. Whence then would the sovereign power proceed? From the common center around which labor, land and capital are co-operatively combined. That is the vision of the future that I see. At the present time, on the battlefields of Europe, you have exploitative capitalism proceeding along the lines of conquest and war, like colonial expansion. You have productive capitalism, proceeding along the lines of commerce and peaceful colonial expansion, and you have the great force of revolutionary social democracy, working toward this co-operative ideal, which I have tried to present to you as solving this peace problem. Then we shall have to organize the social democratic forces and come to reasonable terms with productive capitalism and exploitative capitalism. It is no use standing and blackguarding things of the past. Take exploitative capitalism as it is to-day, and the great revolutionary, social, democratic movement as it is to-day, and proceed along the same reasonable line wherever we can come to terms of peace, which shall be, as we hope, a durable peace.

VICTOR L. BERGER, former Congressman, Milwaukee: *The War and High Finance.*

This war to me, ladies and gentlemen, is the Morganic marriage—an illegal marriage between Lombard Street, London, and Wall Street, New York. The issues are illegitimate war babies down in Wall Street, and every time you mention peace, one of these war babies is ready to die. This is not a popular war—in the Middle West. No matter what the papers tell you, it is exceedingly unpopular. The South is at least very lukewarm. The Far West wants no war. The war seems to be popular only around Wall Street, New York.

The trouble with our country is this—that we have now a rubber stamp Congress. We have a Congress that has abdicated. The munition workers were bright enough to get behind the Democratic party. They always owned the Republican party and now they have both of them. We have a Congress that is so absolutely under the thumb of the administration, that this Congress is ready to send Elihu Root to Russia to teach Russia democracy. The only party that really voices opposition to it—opposition is always necessary in every democracy—the only party that voices opposition everywhere—is the Socialist party.

We are going to abolish the militarism of Germany by sending over two million men to show them what is what. We are going to shoot democracy into Germany, until we have no democracy left at home.

Why is the war, and how long is it to last? Is it to last until we have a German republic? And what kind of a republic? A Morganic republic? A democracy with a Morgan stamp on, or a social democracy? You know, ladies and gentlemen, that the only democracy possible in Europe to-day is a social democracy, that Mr. Morgan and Mr. Schwab and Mr. John D. Rockefeller and all of the editors of the New York and Milwaukee and Chicago papers would like a social democracy a great deal less than they like the Kaiser. In case they should have a social democracy to-morrow, you would find that the New York Times would have editorials about sending an army over there to keep law and order.

I have seen it suggested in New York papers and in Chicago papers that it might be a good thing to have a dictatorship in Russia—that it might be a good thing to put in Grand Duke Nicholas as the constitutional Czar of Russia. That is how we are going to fight for democracy.

We ought to know what our government intends to do. We must know it. We are paying the price in blood and in money. So far we have given away three billion dollars with astonishing rapidity.

Just imagine what you could do with three billion dollars. With three billion dollars you could support three million families this winter in great style. You could, for three billion dollars, establish about three hundred thousand schools in this country. For three billion dollars you could build the finest roads all over the country. You could duplicate the entire railroad system for three billion dollars.

You could pension every man and woman in this country older than 45 with a good deal less than three billion dollars. Yet if you suggest any of these things, then you are a traitor. You are at least not practical. But to give away three billion dollars for war purposes, that is very practical.

We ought to know to what end we are to stay in this war. If we do not get any answer we are likely to have food riots in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, San Francisco, etc., and we will stay in this war until our American people follow in the footsteps of the Russian people and establish a Social Democracy.

EMILY G. BALCH, of Massachusetts: *Terms of Peace.*

Is not the lesson of this war that the problem is all one—that the economic and social problem at home is part of the war problem, and the war problem is a part of the economic and social problem that faces us in our domestic affairs? The only difference is that the relations between nations are even one stage more backward than those within the nation. But we have economic competition, as lawless in one place as the other.

There is no negative solution to such a state of affairs. The statement, "No annexation," "No indemnity," is negative in form but positive in content. The internationalism which we must build up is the internationalism of effective co-operation between friendly nations. It is no solution to have countries sit about a Hague table, just kept from flying at one another's throats by obligatory arbitration, and nothing more than that. It is not peace when people simply do not murder one another on sight, while their whole relation is one of hostile competition. It is peace only if there is friendly co-operation.

So, with regard to indemnities, we have seen in 1870 how cruel, how senseless and ineffective, is a military indemnity levied with the purpose of weakening and crushing a hostile nation. The same thing was seen in Germany in the Napoleonic wars. The war ravaged countries are the concern of all the world. No human mind can fully conceive their misery. The only conceivable solution which is tolerable is that all the countries should see to it that there is friendly, scientific rehabilitation of all the war ravaged countries.

You cannot run the world on the principle of every man for himself and of every nation for itself. Things only cohere by cohesion. People only co-operate by working together. They only live side by side in happiness by having a common aim and pursuing it in common. Such a state of things may seem remote and ideal. It is not remote in essence. It is ideal, but only as all right relations are ideal. And it is only as it is the firm and deliberate and intelligent aim of the plain people of every democratic country in the world, that it can be realized.

Third Session

Wednesday, May 30, 8.30 P. M.

Chairman, JAMES H. MAURER, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

JAMES H. MAURER: *Labor Legislation and the War.*

Mr. Chairman, Men and Women:

The subject for discussion and action to-night is that of the position of labor and capital during the war, and labor laws, or the protection of them. I believe it is pretty well understood by all of you that war had scarcely been declared or diplomatic relations between this country and Germany broken before there was a demand for the suspension of labor laws. New York State, I understand, has suspended a good many of them. In my own State—Pennsylvania—the interests have been very busy trying to convince us that we should suspend our labor laws. It so happens that I am also a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. In Pennsylvania they introduced a bill to repeal the Child Labor Laws of our State, or suspend them during the period of the war, another bill to suspend the Women's Labor Laws during the period of the war, then a blanket bill to suspend all the Labor Laws during the period of the war, and another bill to suspend the full crew law during the period of the war.

The blanket bill to suspend all Labor Laws says upon request of the Committee of National Defense, the Governor shall by proclamation suspend the labor laws of the State. That is the shape in which the bill came to us.

The bill further provides that the Governor may, if he feels so disposed, have the Labor Commission—the Industrial Commission of our State—investigate and find out whether it is necessary to suspend a labor law—not the labor laws as a whole, but a labor law affecting a given industry, and then on two different days the public in the locality where the labor law may be suspended is to be notified through the newspapers that there will be a public hearing on this thing, and then there will be a public hearing and we can appear and protest, and the other side can favor, and then the commission is to report to the Governor and recommend, if it sees fit, the suspension of the labor law affecting that particular industry, in that particular county, and the Governor if he favors the recommendation of that committee is then to notify the chief in the Department of Labor and Industry, who shall notify the firm concerned that the labor law stands suspended in their particular concern for a certain period, but at no time can the period be longer than the duration of the war. That will only affect one

employer, or one concern. If it affects a hosiery mill, it will affect only that one—not the one across the street, or down the street, or in the same county. If others want the labor law repealed, they have to go through that same trouble again, and we hope by the time they get over the State the war will be over. That is as well as we can amend it to be inoperative. However, we will oppose that bill just the same and take no chances. The Full Crew Repeal was introduced in the Senate and was passed last Thursday. The argument to have a Full Crew Law suspended was on account of the war. Everything they do nowadays is on account of the war. I had a bill up to have one of our cities of the third class go into the farming business. They defeated my bill on account of the war.

Another man had a bill up to allow foxes to run loose, to give them the protection of the law in certain months. The man who sponsored that bill enlisted and went to the front up at Fort Niagara to train to be a soldier, and when his bill came up, the speaker gave up his position, went down on the floor, and took the floor in defense of the Fox Bill, and what do you think he said. He said, "Gentlemen, I want you to remember that the sponsor of this meritorious legislation" (mind you, a bill allowing the foxes to eat up our chickens these hard times) "is up at the front fighting the battles of this country, and it behooves us, therefore, to pass this bill in honor of the man at the front." But as to the Full Crew Bill, the representatives of the railroads and the Chambers of Commerce of all the cities and of the State, representing the interests favorable to the suspension of the Full Crew Law, were there. One speaker said, "This law, if it is suspended, will give us two thousand more men," and he said, "We need them in France to build railroads there. Suspend the law and give us these two thousand men, and we will take them to France, and there we will construct the railroads that were torn up."

Now, you know railroad men do not build railroads; they run them when they are built. Now, another man said, "We are not going to lay these two thousand men off if you pass the Suspension Bill, but we are going to put them on other trains, and we will run more trains. We cannot handle the traffic now, because we cannot get men. The men are going to the front to follow the colors. We have the railroads and we have not got the men. It is a patriotic duty, gentlemen, to suspend this law, so that we can run our railroads." Now, strange that they want these men to run these railroads, because they cannot run enough trains with the men they have got. We asked the gentleman why they didn't take the parlor cars and take the seats out and make day coaches out of them, and carry so many more passengers. We asked why they did not take the President's car and make him ride with the common passengers and prove his patriotism. If ever there is a time when it is more important that trains should be properly manned it is during war time. They are using cars now that were discarded and worn out years ago. There are many wrecks, yet on the ground of patriotism they wish to take away the men.

Friends, I did not intend to make a speech. I want to pave the way while the chairman of the committee is getting ready. I wish to say this: England has tried the plan of discarding the labor laws—they worked the men and women and children from eighty-four to eighty-eight hours a week and seven days a week—and they found in time that month after month the output was getting less. They investigated and found that the trouble was fatigue among the workers. They went back to the old one day rest out of seven and cut the hours down to no more than sixty, with the result that the output increased with the shorter week from 8 to 20 per cent. over the long work week.

Many employers of this country see a chance to make more profit on account of the war. In my city a big department store man said to an acquaintance of mine who asked when she was going to get her vacation this year: "There will be no vacation now, my child, because we are at war." Then he said, "They are going to pass a law to suspend all labor laws, and when that passes we will have no little state official poking his nose in our business any more. Then we are going to keep our stores open every night of the week." She said, "Will we get more money for this?" He said, "No, our taxes will be increased on account of the war, and you, who work for us, must put in extra labor to make up the taxes that we pay."

DR. SCOTT NEARING, Toledo, Ohio, Chairman of Committee on Industrial Standards:

The report of the Committee on Economic Standards covers four points on which I will speak briefly. First on the maintenance of labor standards, second on the question of the cost of living, third on the problem of taxation, fourth on the question of industrial democracy. The statement regarding labor standards is as follows: The long struggle that has been waged to reduce hours, to raise wages, to abolish child labor, to protect the life, limbs and health of the wage earners has created definite minimum labor standards. A nation-wide assault on these standards is now in progress. The labor laws are being suspended or repealed. Cheap alien labor is to be imported. Women are replacing the men who leave for the front. We call upon the working people to resist this assault by insisting that the labor laws be preserved and enforced, by maintaining the rights gained through the labor movement—by opposing the importation of cheap alien labor and prisoners of war, to be employed in American industries, and by insisting that where women take the place of men, they receive men's wages.

In the first place, there is the point that Mr. Maurer spoke about, the wiping off the books of labor standards that we have worked a long time to secure. That was one of the things we want to oppose. If a labor standard is good in times of peace it is doubly good in times of war.

In the second place, we foresaw the danger, which is not by any means a fancied one, that because of the war, contractors would tell

workers "This and this is so ; now, if you don't do so and so, we will report the matter to the Commissary Department or to somebody else." A number of cases were brought to our attention where that has already happened. Now, if certain hours and certain wages and certain working conditions which the workers have secured through years of struggle are to be sacrificed at the first blush, simply because there is a war on, it would only be necessary when the workers had secured enough standards for the other group to have a little war, and they could alter the labor standards and start the workers all over again on another generation of struggle. So we suggest the extreme importance, not only of maintaining labor laws, but of having the labor organizations hold the ground they have gained. We have not heard any suggestion that the interest rate be cut. We have not heard suggestion that rents be reduced. We have not heard any suggestion to slice into dividends, except through a surplus profit tax, which will take one little iota of the total increased war profits. They are not talking of cutting into the standards of capital. They are going up. It is the standards for labor that are going down. When they begin to talk about reducing the interest rate and reducing rents and in other ways curtailing the returns to capital, then it will be time to talk about starving and otherwise hampering the workers, but until there is some real talk of cutting capital returns, it is idle and foolish and quite undemocratic to talk about cutting labor returns. And so we urge the labor organizations—the labor movement—to stand by the ground that it has gained. This is not a time for labor to retrench.

In the third place, there is danger—we do not know how great—that Chinese coolies, Mexican peons and military prisoners may be imported to work cheap. As a matter of fact, in my town in Toledo at the present time they are bringing in negroes from the South in large numbers to work cheap. I understand that they have done the same thing in St. Louis and other cities. Now, we cannot prevent the shifting of labor in the United States, but we felt that it was extremely important that at this crisis we should not have alien labor—coolie labor, Mexican peon labor, military prisoner labor—brought in to reduce wage standards. It is not American! It is not democratic, and this, you must remember, is a war for democracy.

Then in the fourth place the women are being called upon to take the men's jobs. Our committee had no objection to this, but we noticed in the first place that the women were not asked to take the nice jobs—the bank presidents are not asking women in to take their jobs. The corporation officials—the leaders of industry—are not asking women in to take their jobs, but women are asked to take the cheap jobs, and having been asked to take the cheap jobs, they are asked to take them at a lower price than the cheap men who preceded them on the job. We insist that wherever the women take the job that was held by the men they get the same wages as the men were receiving. Those are the four points that we desire to make with regard to the maintenance of labor standards.

Our second point deals with the question of the cost of living. We want it to be particularly understood that American business is exacting this from the American people. The cost of living has been increased until it is undermining existing standards. We therefore demand that Congress provide forthwith the machinery for the fixing of maximum prices on the necessities of life and minimum wages, which will insure health, efficiency, comfort and education. All of the figures which have come to hand show that the American business world has reaped unprecedented harvest out of the world crisis, that the 1916 net profits show a level never before met in American business. In other words the war has increased their exploiting or monetary power and they are going the thing to the limit.

What we say is that as the American business interests are spending their energy to gouge the American people, that it is up to Congress, if Congress represents the American people, in the first place to fix maximum prices and in the second place to state minimum wages.

In the third place we say taxation of the necessities of life inevitably reduces the standard of living. We therefore demand that none of the revenue required for the prosecution of the war shall come from the taxation of necessities.

In the fourth place we made the following statement: "Industrial plutocracy makes for war. Industrial democracy for peace. This war brings with it autocratic, political control of industry in the interests of the ruling classes. The American people, joining hands with the new democracy of Russia, must lay the basis for permanent world peace by establishing industrial democracy." This last plank is an extremely important one. The others are matters of immediate detail, immediate interest. This is a matter of ultimate solution. Now, you know and I know that the only place in the world to-day where they are even talking industrial democracy in serious language is in Russia. I believe one of the New York papers the other day suggested that the Government had wisely taken some of the labor members into its Councils. Now the facts are that the Soldiers' and Workingmen's delegates have forced into the Russian situation something that neither the United States nor England, nor France, nor Germany, nor Austria, nor Japan, nor any other of the belligerent governments wanted there. They forced in this proposition of industrial democracy and that is the reason we said, "Joining hands with the new democracy of Russia," because as we looked around the world we did not see anything else approaching industrial democracy and, by the way, we do not see anything approaching industrial democracy in the United States either—don't misunderstand us on that head. The American people have got to do this thing. This present war is a war by the intelligent, educated, enlightened part of the community, against the wishes and the judgment of the ignorant part of the community.

I was talking the other day to a friend and he said, "Ignorance is the cause of the war." He was a college graduate and he had that

peculiar type of intellectual snobbery engrained in his nature that one gets in the ordinary American college. He had just previously relieved himself of the statement that the working people were ignorant and that that was their principal trouble. Then I asked him to review the history of the United States for the past two years and give an honest answer as to whether the agitation for war had come from the working group or whether it had come from the enlightened people who have had the advantage of high school and college training. Well, he was rather in a hole as you can readily see.

The fact is that our school system is a propaganda organization for the maintenance of the present order. It is not impartial. It is not honest. It is not truth-seeking. It is order-maintaining. What is the primary thing in the schools? It is discipline. They do not say "Do what is right," they say "Do what you are told," "Mind! obey!" Unintelligent, unthinking, unquestioning obedience—that is the big major premise of American education. You will find it from the college right through to the kindergarten.

What I feel is that we must have a backfire on that educational system that will give us enough intelligence among the only group in the community who really know anything—the wage earning group—enough intelligence so that they will do what the intelligent wage-earning group in Russia has just done—put it up to the other people who say they know things, and who really do not—put it up to them that we must have industrial democracy if we are to prevent future wars. When I say that the working people know things I mean they have the knowledge of the world. We know how to exploit, they how to produce. We exploit them of a part of their product and then we tell ourselves that we are the intelligent, enlightened and beneficial part of the community. That is a little part of the pantomime of the whole silly modern game that we have been pulling off in the last fifty or one hundred years.

Our idea was that out of this world crisis—out of the multitude of things that we have been learning in the last few months must come industrial democracy, for the sake of the world, for the sake of the international world, the whole world, not our little particular part, for the sake of the people of the world, for the sake of the civilization of the world, for the sake of putting in the scrap pile this direct action, that they have been pulling off in Europe during the last two and a half years and substituting something resembling law and order again on the face of civilization. We cannot get an ordered, coherent society until the members of that society demand it, and we want that demand to take the form of industrial democracy, because the thing that is conveyed by that phrase carries more than any other thing that we include for the amelioration of the economic part of our lives, both for peace and human well-being.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY: *Labor Standards in War Time.*

I think it is a safe thing for each of the speakers to-night to remind ourselves one after the other that this is a war for democracy

and for liberty. We have had a strange exhibit at Albany this year. I don't hesitate to speak of the state laws of New York, because New York is the greatest of all industrial states in this union and because it is the unhappy practice of many other states to treat us not as we ought to be treated, as a horrible warning, but alas, as an example. The exhibit, the singular exhibit, that we have had has been a glowing, burning zeal on the part of the officials—not only those elected to the Senate and the Assembly, but on the part of the administrative officials, both those who represent the wage earning class and those that represent the exploiters, to break down the labor standards which have been slowly built up by the labor and the pain of over thirty years. At the beginning of the Legislature, before the war, bills were introduced both by the Industrial Commission, whose chairman is Mr. John Mitchel and whose vice-chairman is Mr. James Lynch of the printing trade, with a majority of three capitalists, and also by Mr. Elon Brown, representing the cannery region, to break down the whole code.

It was pointed out that these bills would relax the labor laws in regard to every industry in the state except, perhaps, as Commissioner Lynch said, the single exception might be the moving picture shows, because perhaps they could hardly be regarded as a part of the munitions industry. When it was pointed out that if they had a patriotic intent they came under a different clause of the law and would have a good claim to be exempted. I have myself been scanning the horizon ever since these bills have been introduced, and the only industry I have been able to find that might be exempted was the manufacture of artificial flowers, but the bills were so carefully and ingeniously drawn, with a provision that all safeguards might be relaxed for all industries, where failure to do so might inconvenience the public, and the artificial flower manufacturers are a part of the public, and if their profits were interfered with, that would inconvenience them, and so they also would come under these laws. Now the things which for several months past has filled the minds of the women who have care about the labor laws is the question: Why do the men of New York elect such officials? We have got a reprieve. But how long are we to spend our days in going to Albany to keep the searchlight turned upon the officials whom the men of New York send there—after the same men have year after year acted in ways which make it inevitable that this year they should act thus. What is the use of electing people for whom democracy is the emptiest vote catcher and then expressing surprise that they act exactly as they always acted before. Now, if we care for democracy, democracy begins at home. For the New York men democracy begins in New York, and it has two manifestations—first the election of people who have shown themselves democratic and second the willingness to share the vote with all the people concerned.

There is one other aspect of this. A bill is pending and I think it has many cousins in many other states. It also is before the Governor providing for the exemption of young children—girls and boys from twelve years up—from school attendance from the first of April

to the first of November, not only for this year, but throughout the war, to enable these young children to go and raise grain or food of some kind. Of course, children twelve years old are not very useful now in the kind of agriculture that is carried on in this country, but they are going after these schools as soon as Governor Whitman signs these bills. They do this, of course, presumably to raise useful food. The most useful food nowadays is the grain food. The day that we had our hearing protesting against these bills was followed by another day, on which I found on my desk a circular from the Distilleries Securities Company explaining that they had last year paid in taxes to the Federal Government \$146,000,000 for distilled beverages at \$1.10 a gallon and offering to pay \$2.20 a gallon this year for the privilege of distilling a larger amount of beverages.

I have not been engaged in a prohibition campaign, but I wish to call your attention to the disparity between our turning little boys and girls twelve years old, out of the school for five school months: April, May, June, September and October, to increase the food supply and our letting the Distilleries Securities Corporation have enough of that grain to distill for beverages, to call for a tax of 146 million dollars at \$1.10 a gallon. It seems to me, that we need in this country restoration of our sense of proportion. If the international famine is such that the starving have to be saved by the twelve-year-old girls going into the field, and the twelve-year-old boys—all of them losing five months of their school year—why does Congress pass over the proposals to do something about that 146 million dollar tax supply of alcohol for beverages. I think that it is a matter of the most serious consideration for people such as make up this audience, that the onslaught upon the schools is exactly as pernicious as the onslaught upon the labor laws, and I believe that the underlying cause is exactly the same hypocrisy.

A year ago last March, a young girl, connected with the settlement where I live, the house in Henry Street—was giving a dancing lesson to some children in a Children's Aid School close by. The lesson was interrupted by the entrance of three agile policemen, armed not with clubs, but with tape measures. They went down on their knees and clumsily measured the floor of the schoolroom in which the dancing lesson was going on, and when the astonished young dancing teacher inquired why they were doing this, they said that Mayor Mitchel had instructed Commissioner Woods to learn the floor area of every school in the city, so that Mayor Mitchel might know exactly what resources the Mayor had at his disposal for hospital care of the wounded and for barrack use.

And I wish to call to your attention the fact that the State Commissioner of Education, the Honorable John Finley, after accepting the responsibility of making the rules and regulations which are to have the force of law, for the guidance of the children who are free to leave school and go and engage in agriculture, has departed. The shepherd has left his sheep. He has gone to France to see what use France has made of her school buildings during the war. When

Commissioner Finley returns to this country, interested citizens may well read his report and may well insist upon knowing what confidential report he files at Washington, and with the Mayor, as to possible other uses than educational uses of our schools.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee: *Child Labor and the War.*

I congratulate myself on being permitted to have so popular a place, on this program, because at least this one topic, which has been assigned to me, is one on which all the people ought to be able to agree. There is no question here between the position of the ultra-militarist and the extreme pacifist. Child labor, as everyone of average intelligence knows, not only robs the child of his educational opportunities and of the joys of childhood, but it seriously and definitely interferes with the storing up of those physical and other qualities that are needed to produce reliable and self-supporting citizenship.

The militarists must be extremely anxious that every boy, especially, shall maintain all his physical strength, in order to be able to meet the military tests in the years to come, and since so many places have been found recently for women to serve in various agencies that are working to promote military activity, they must also be no less interested in safeguarding the education and health of girls. The non-militarist, on the other hand, is equally interested in trying to preserve the health and strength of the children of the present day for the higher and larger patriotic and civic services of the future. Yet happy as this unanimity of opinion is on the surface and in the abstract, when we come to analyze it in the concrete, we find that our optimism is not quite so well founded because one of the first things that happened when war broke out in Europe was the breakdown of the educational standards, the suspension of Child Labor Laws, the shooting into fragments of the Juvenile Court, and the setting aside of practically all the agencies and activities that have been built up in the past hundred years, to safeguard the interests and welfare of children. Reports that have come to us from practically all the warring countries during the past two years—fragmentary reports of course, most of them, sifting through the hands of the censor—are in the same direction.

I am very glad to add that after a little more than two years of warring in Europe, I believe all of the belligerent countries have discovered that they made a grievous blunder at the outset, that when they launched their ship of state out on the seas of war, they ought not to have thrown overboard all of its precious cargoes. They ought to have preserved the educational laws and regulations—their Child Labor Laws—and made them stronger. They ought to have extended their Juvenile Courts to look over the children—to safeguard them in this time. With the policeman off his beat, the father at the front, and the mother working in ammunition fac-

tories, the little child was left to his own devices. If you have children, you know what these devices are.

So England has reported that in one year there was an increase, ranging in different cities from 25, 32 and 37 per cent. in juvenile delinquency. We had a report recently from Germany. It was stated that in the city of Berlin, there was an increase of 50 per cent. in juvenile delinquency the first year of the war, as compared with the preceding year, and in the past year, an average of seventeen German cities showed an increase of 55 per cent. in juvenile delinquency. Even a little German boy will break the law if there is not someone around watching him, and reminding him that that won't please the Kaiser if he does it.

The other day our photographer went to a little tenement room up here on upper Second Avenue—a little room in which eight people lived. One inside room is their home. There he found a mother, sitting at the table with a little three-months'-old baby in her arms, and around the same table there were four children, ages ten, nine, seven and five, and they were all busily engaged in helping save this country from Germany. And what was their special task? It must have been a very highly prized task. It must have been of special value to our country, or we would not so highly reward them. They were being paid, if they worked hard all day, and far into the night—the combination of mother and four children were being paid—the splendid wage of two dollars a week, and their job was to make these little flags for us to wear in the lapel of our coat, and fasten them on cards, so that we may show that we are patriots, because we wear the stars and stripes. Talk about insulting the flag! Good heavens, friends—if that is not desecration! For that job the poor family was being paid three cents a gross. The system was Taylorized, so that they could do it fast, you see.

Now I say we hope that the farmers are going to save us from the fate that the canners of this city would try to visit upon us. The National Child Labor Committee recently sent out to the country after all the city people around the various parts of the country had decided the poor farmer was the one man who needed help this summer—we sent out a questionnaire to the Grains Officials and other farmers' officials in every state of the union, and we began to get replies from them. We asked them, "Do you want children this summer to help you with your farming problems? If so, at what age do you want the—boys—girls? What wages will you pay? Will the work be steady or intermittent? At what season of the summer can you use them best?" We tried to make the questionnaire as colorless as we could so that we would not prejudice them. When the replies came back, we found that we did not need to color them—they were all given with the finest kind of color. Seventy-five per cent. of those farmers came back with a flat "Don't send any of the children to us. We have troubles enough already." And the other 25 per cent. made replies so much like the other 75 per cent. that we could not see much difference.

A few of them in the berry picking section and in the onion fields, where the weeding and thinning of onions goes on in the summer, did say that they could take sixteen-year-old boys and eighteen-year-old girls to do some of the lighter work in the summer months, but the children they did not want at any price.

I will not take any more time except to urge you friends that in the interests of the very highest kind of patriotism, whether we are glad that this country is in a state of war, or whether any of us regret it—we all want our nation to perform the highest, most noble kind of service, whether in peace or war, and in the present crisis that is upon us, in the interest of patriotism, in the higher interest of a broader humanity, let us insist that not a single standard that relates to the protection of the boys and girls of our country shall be abated for a single minute, because the boys and girls who need protection now, are the very ones who will be needed either in peace or war in ten years from now.

MISS ELIZABETH FREEMAN: *Finances of the Conference.*

I think of a story that I heard once of a little boy who had swallowed a quarter, and all the members of the family suggested various sorts of things to be done to get the quarter back, and finally one of the members of the family, who was an old maid, and not supposed to know the least thing about children, said: "Suppose you send around the corner for the Methodist Minister. If anyone can get money out of you, he can." I have tried to put this job off on everyone that I know in this audience, and nobody will take it. The job is to ask this group of people here, who have come to the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace, to help to pay for it, because without money we cannot hire halls. They talk about the high cost of living—it does not begin with the high cost of hiring halls. I don't know what Madison Square Garden feeds on, but it is more expensive now than a month ago—and this theatre has cost money—and the printing, and the postage, and one thousand and other things have cost money. We are going to be called upon by this Government of ours to give up everything we possibly can during war times.

Now we want out of the Conference (and so do you, because it is yours) something great and fine to grow up. This is our child—your child—that must go, not only all over the United States, but all over the world. When you realize that less than one month ago this baby was not born—when you realize that in that short space of time, there has come in answer to the call to help to foster it and bring it into being—names of people in forty-two states in this union, it shows very clearly that the people want it. When you find men in the Colorado mines sending ten cents worth of stamps to help it along, it shows that it is something growing, or answering to something growing in the hearts of the common people of this country. We have with us to-day a man who has come from Australia to be here at this Conference. This afternoon we had a Chinaman on this platform, who had come to take part in this

Conference. And while we call it the First American Conference, at its incipiency we make it international. Now what are you going to do to carry it on? We have done our part. We have brought you the speakers. We have brought you together. We have done all we know how, and it is up to everyone here to do something, not only to bear the expense of this initial Conference, but to put into the treasury money that will help to carry this message all over this and every other country. It means that everyone representing an organization—everyone representing a state, must pledge something to-night, in honor of that state, or that organization, and I am going to ask someone here to-night, who feels the greatness of this movement, who has the vision to see that here is something big in the future for us all, to rise up where you are—don't be afraid of yourself—and tell us how much you are going to pledge to give towards this new organization. I would like somebody to start off with five thousand dollars.

STEPHEN BIRCHER, of the Brotherhood of Metal Workers: *Labor in War Time.*

Representing an organization that has been fighting for the cause of labor, and has not as yet given up the idea of doing all that it can to maintain the standards attained during many years of hard struggle, I would like to ask all of you who have in any way anything to do with working men, women and children—to, at all times, bear in mind that the burden of this war lies upon our shoulders doubly—the burden lies upon our shoulders more heavily than upon anyone else. Workers have been fighting a long and bitter struggle, even while peace was in existence. In this and every other war we have been compelled to fight the battles of labor against capital—on top of this we now have another war—that between the United States and the central powers of Europe. It is for that reason that we have got, at this time, not only to prepare, but to decide, once and for all, that we will do all there is in our power, through organized effort, to resist the abrogation, or the suspension of labor laws, for which we have been fighting for so many years. I am very sorry that the committee of which I have been a member, was not in a position to lay down a definite program for everyone to follow. Within our hearts those of us who have been fighting the battles of labor still have there the one determination that we are going to fight with all our might, not only to retain that which we have got, but to get more of the things that we need to support ourselves and our families. We will not take a back step for anyone. We will carry on the battles of labor as far as the laws are concerned, peacefully. We as workers are in the great majority in this country. We have a right to be heard upon the conditions under which we will labor. If there are laws that are detrimental to our welfare, we will make our views heard. We will make our power felt in the Legislative bodies of our country. We will demand that all laws that have been enacted up to the

present shall be carried on further, and that new ones shall be enacted, that shall protect us, while we are fighting the battles of this nation. I hope that everyone of you will do all you can to bring this message to the great body of unorganized workers—unorganized I say, because the organized worker can take care of himself at all times, but the unorganized worker—he is so unfortunate as to have no backing of any kind. He needs that advice, so spread the word broadcast: organize, and through organized effort retain what you have got, and gain more of the things which are necessary for a decent living.

EDWARD J. CASSIDY of the Central Federated Union, New York:
"Labor and Peace."

It might be of interest to you to know how the Central Federated Union of this city stands in regard to the movement that we are associated with to-night. On last Friday night at the regular meeting of the Central Federated Union, a communication from this organization was read, in which the central body was asked to endorse this movement. The proposition to endorse this movement and to help in the accomplishment of its purposes was carried by the Central Federated Union by a unanimous vote and three delegates were elected by the Central Federated Union to this conference. It is a strange thing that even among the trade unionists you will find a certain Rip Van Winkle element who seem to regard this movement and those akin to it as having somewhat the aspect or suspicion of being unpatriotic. There exists in my union a small percentage of the membership who seem to regard me personally as being one whose loyalty to the democracy of the country is tainted. However, I am very glad to say to you, my friends, that amongst the trade unionists that type is a minority element. Every time, either after the war has been declared or prior to the declaration of the war, that we tested the membership of the trade union movement on this question we find they are faced toward the progress of democracy.

The New York State Federation of Labor, or rather the Executive Board, consisting, I think, of about one dozen men, did the most astounding thing I have ever heard in all my twenty-eight years of activity in the labor movement when, in order to convince the state government and the general public that organized labor in this state was patriotic, they voluntarily said to the Governor: "As proof of our patriotism we agree, as a contribution, to our country in this crisis, to the abrogation of the labor law." The next meeting of the delegates of the Central Federated Union went against that proposition. We regarded it not as loyalty, but as treason to the labor movement, and so did the Central Labor Unions throughout the state, until the State Federation of Labor had to right about face, and we compelled them last week in Albany at the hearing on the labor laws, to stand by at the command of the rank and file and fight against these laws being enacted.

The Central Federated Union has passed a resolution of absolutely undivided loyalty to the country in this crisis. The typographical union, of which I am a member, and the Central Federated Union have done the same. But when we do these things, as an organized labor movement, we do not mean that we are not going to keep our eyes alert and our senses alert to see the anti-democratic elements in this country that would seize this opportunity in the national crisis to steal away from us our democratic privileges that we have gained through these years of struggle in the past. I claim, my friends, it is the highest type of democracy and loyalty and true patriotism for us people of the labor union and you people in sympathy with the labor movement and progress, to keep your eyes alert and to point the finger and the searchlight of exposure on the elements of this country that you and I know from past experience would destroy the labor movement, destroy all our social and labor legislation and destroy our democracy if we permitted them to do it.

Our newspaper press are very much perplexed and well-meaning individuals are very much perplexed at the lack of response to the call of the United States Government for men to step forth into the ranks of the army and the navy. Why is it that while we see hundreds of thousands of flags flying in the wind and while we find our newspapers, issue after issue, belching forth patriotic announcement, that the people and the young men are not responding. If the United States Government wished to double and triple and double up a dozen times the number of men who will enlist in the army without the necessity of a draft or conscription, let the United States Government come forth and reach its powerful governmental arm to the speculators in the people's food. Let them go to work and fix a maximum amount for the staple articles of livelihood. Let them take over the railroad system of this country during the period of the war at least. Let them further assure us that we do not go through the same experience in previous wars, when the sons of the poor were conscripted for the trenches, and ways were found to keep the sons of the rich away from the cannon and the poisoned gas and the bayonet. If we are going to have the draft, as we are going to have it, let us see to it that the rich will be conscripted as well as the poor and that no loophole shall be permitted for them to crawl through. Let us also see to it, above everything else, that our public school system is not going to be crippled, under the pretext of the war. Let us see to it that that is not seized as a pretext to put the gag on the labor press, so that the labor press and the forward and progressive press is not closed. Let the government do these things—do its part—and there would be a more patriotic response from all the elements in the community, including the labor movement.

ABRAHAM I. SHIPLACOFF, Member New York State Legislature:
Labor Laws in War.

I had an occasion to be in Canada a short while ago, where we had a strike of tailors in the city of Montreal, asking for better con-

ditions, and they tried to play the patriotic game on our tailors out there, and we have made them understand that we can go them one better when it comes to patriotism. They have gone so far as to distribute a few dozen military guns in every one of the great many shops in the city, and then threaten that if we continued striking they would bring the soldiers down there to take care of things, and we told them to go right ahead and put them on the machines, and put them to work if they could. The result was that we had simply called their bluff, and we would have them understand that so far as the conditions of labor are concerned, if we cannot be protected by the labor laws and Democrats and Republicans, under whatever name they happen to come in the Legislative bodies, we will take the matter into our own hands and we will not let all the work that has cost the lives and sacrifices of scores of years, on the part of the working class to accomplish, be broken down by anyone.

The soldiers were not even called, because they know that while the soldiers may parade up and down, alongside of the factory, they cannot do the work that is necessary to manufacture suits and coats and things of that kind. The result was that we won the strike, just as we expected.

This is my second year in the New York State Legislature, and I can differentiate between the spirit of the Legislature of this year and last year. This year the people were there, representing the New York Central, the Erie Railroad, the State Manufacturers' Association, the big Real Estate Men's Association—the people who represent Wall Street and the people who represent all the other vested interests. We know them pretty well—We point our fingers at them every time we get up to speak—We have time and again pointed to the gentlemen representing different interests there. They do not refute it, but feel complimented.

They have come there this year with an extraordinary holiday spirit. They felt that this is their season and their harvest. The representatives in the Legislature this year—the so-called representatives of the people who are in reality the representatives of the vested interests, have this year been working overtime.

They saw the grand opportunity they had to break down the laws that the working classes succeeded in getting in its favor, after all these past years, and they have done it successfully because labor has been pretty much asleep. Let us hope that this terrible price—that the people in this country and the world over are paying—will at least teach us this lesson, that in the future we should know that we have got to have those representatives in the legislative bodies, who have not merely good will, but who have the definite wishes of the great masses of the people at heart.

LEONORA O'REILLY, National Women's Trade Union League: *Safe-guarding Labor in War.*

As the last speaker I want to say to you that we must get the full substance of what Robert Owen meant when he said that a person

whose intelligence or conscience teaches him one thing and his interests another is immorally situated.

What is true of a person is true of a people. What have we been doing while this whole world was bleeding itself to death—murdering itself? Our consciences, if we had any consciences at all, were teaching us one thing, but our interests were teaching us another, and we were taking—every one of us—what we could so long as we were out of the bloody business. Now, we have got into it and we cannot get out of it. Until we get out, mark you, this war is a war to make democracy possible. I wonder whether it was a wise man or a fool who said that thing—to make democracy possible. We have played with the term democracy—we have played with the labor movement in this country—we have played with the whole thing.

We have talked democracy, and what did the people of these United States have to say about whether they would or would not go into this thing, in order that Wall Street might make more profits. Well now, we have had nothing to say about it, and we are in it—at least we are drilling boys and girls—at least, the laboring people are learning that what was said of Germany might now be said of this country.

The German working class—the German people—were almost ready for a movement such as they had in Russia, and so the Kaiser thought it was time to destroy radical thought. That may or may not be true, but just in proportion as we have any sense of democracy in these United States, the gentlemen who have gotten us into this war will now get their first lesson in real democracy. Now the people of the South will speak as they have never spoken before. Now the people of the West will speak as they have never spoken before. Now we will see what our people of the East are really thinking about, and now our labor movement—our splendid labor movement—splendid at the heart, as Brother Cassidy said, splendid at the heart, will bring up its sham leaders, and we will know just how much intelligence we have among us.

But one thing is certain—the whole community will have to stand by the labor movement. Not only the labor movement—not only these Trade Unionists—not only these Socialists—not only these agitators, but the whole people together will begin to sense how fundamental are the teachings of that much abused labor movement which teaches that every child that is born should be taught that labor creates all wealth, and that all wealth belongs to those who create it. Is not that simple? The men of '48 tried to teach that to the world. The world was not yet ready.

We of these United States can be no pro-ally, pro-Germany, pro-anything but pro-humane, and by our pro-humaneness we will win. Just in proportion as we understand that these whole United States belong to the people of the United States we will make the right sort of peace when peace is made. Just one more thought. Women, this is your hour, for never in the history of all the wars of the world have women held such a place, by right of their intelligence, as they are going to hold in this one. Before this war came to us a group of

women from all countries, warring and neutral, got together to see if they could talk or plan some kind of peace, that the world would be willing to listen to. It was not willing to do anything more than let us talk. But, I think, our talk is partly the cause of what is being done here to-night.

MARY WARE DENNETT: *The Taxation of Wealth in War Time.*

It is not at all the function of this conference to discuss War Revenues measures. This is not our war. We did not want it. We wish not a single penny could be appropriated for it. But this war was wished upon us. It is here and unfortunately an enormous appropriation has already been made. The loans have partly been made to the Allies. We have already contracts made for an enormous preparedness programme that began over a year ago. Our question is, in paying the money already voted by our representatives, are we going to be bright enough to start something in war times as a system of taxation that will be worth keeping in peace times?

Fortunately, we have one man in Congress who is doing so. Robert Crosser of Ohio has introduced what the people in this country will presently come to recognize as the beginning of the only democratic plan for taxation that the United States has ever had. Robert Crosser is living in comparative obscurity now, but by and by he will have the halo that is due him. Our present system of taxation stands almost fully for the plutocratic system. Our taxes are now paid by the ultimate consumer, upon whom all manner of taxes but one can be shifted.

Robert Crosser's bill is a land value taxation bill, introduced and referred to the Ways and Means Committee, inferentially, as a war revenue measure. His measure provides in the only way he can at present make a land value taxation measure applicable—provides over \$2,000,000,000, distributed among the states, according to the population. That is made necessary by the provisions of the United States Constitution.

The public makes land values. Therefore, the public should take land values. What the public makes the public should take for its own purposes. We could, if we took the annual rental of that land value, have a Federal income of five billion, and that would be without taxing the consumer—the individual consumer—one single bit. A land value tax cannot be shifted, and it strikes clear into the middle of plutocracy. The tendency of it is to wipe out absolutely the parasitic class. There is no plan of taxation thus far introduced in Congress which has that tendency. It does this thing, besides that. It gets clean in under the high cost of living. There is enough unused land in the great wheat states of Montana, the two Dakotas and Minnesota to provide wheat for an empire. The land is held out of use for speculative purposes. We could tax it into use, that is the advantage of the land value tax, and the by-product to us is that it increases our food and lowers the cost of our food. The same thing, of course, is true

with our coal, and it also raises wages. We have all the advantages—if we had done that a long time ago we should not be in a position now where our hearts are wrung to the extent that they are wrung by the hunger of the Allies. The word comes over to us that we must feed those European nations. Look at what England has done itself. We have the budgets—statistics from England, from 14 to 17, that is, March of this year, and in the budget we find that certain of their taxes have enormously increased. The customs, for instance, have been nearly doubled. The income tax has been about trebled. The excise tax has been increased 600 times and all of them has more or less come out of the people—all of those taxes can be transferred to the ultimate consumer. But during that time England, in its budget system, has not so much as touched the land values. They stand right there, at approximately the same figure, in taxes as they were at the beginning of the war. If England had released its own land for agricultural purposes England would not be as hungry as it is now. All you have to do to whip up your support and enthusiasms for the Cropper valuation bill, as it is put into the Congress, is to just investigate a little bit, as to who is opposed to that type of bill, why plutocracy is fairly tolerant—of course, only fairly tolerant—of certain kinds of income taxes—they can be moved on to you and me—but plutocracy absolutely has an exceedingly intelligent and very bitter opposition to the land value tax. Plutocracy knows mighty well what the land value tax will do, if the rest of us do not know it, and if you want a short cut to conversion to the value of a land value tax look at the enemies of it. You will find ample opportunity there. One of these great copper companies that is now posing as a patriotic body of people by offering the United States copper at half the current market rates is not telling of course what has leaked out, that that figure is a good deal over what the copper rate had been for the past decade, and therefore leaves them with a handsome profit, so that they can afford to pay an income tax. But do you suppose those same copper interests would be at all hospitable to the land value tax, that would force them, as well as the coal barons and all the other land owners, out through the productive parts of our country that are rich in natural resources, do you suppose that they would be hospitable at all to a land value tax that would force them to use the land they are holding out of use? Not a bit. They would sing an absolutely different tune. It is of enormous value to start now, as a war revenue measure, but it is even more important to hold this over and keep it forever and ever in the United States as the beginning of a real democratic system of taxation.

Fourth Session

Thursday, May 31, 10 A. M.

American Liberties in War Time:

DANIEL KIEFER, Cincinnati, Chairman.

Preliminary statement by Dr. J. L. Magnes, Chairman of the Conference: I would like to call the attention of this meeting to the following despatch in all of this morning's newspapers:

"The Department of Justice to-day communicated instructions by telegraph or long distance telephone to its officers and agents in communities wherever meetings are likely to be held at which agitation against registration as prescribed in the new army bill might be indulged in. The United States attorneys and marshals were directed to be present or represented at the meetings and to have stenographic reports made of the addresses delivered. These reports will be gone over carefully and arrests will be made later in all instances in which the utterances of the speakers are calculated to disturb registration or to influence individuals into attempting to evade the provisions of the law. The United States attorneys and marshals were also directed to ask close co-operation with the local police authorities in each community. From the reports being made daily by the agents throughout the country the officials of the department are convinced that such threats to resist registration as are being made are the result of local and sporadic influences and are not inspired by any organized effort of serious consequence."

I don't know if this meeting is regarded as one of those coming within the provisions of this telegram. If this meeting is so regarded and if the agents and officers of the Department of Justice are here to take stenographic reports of the addresses delivered I would have much pleasure in inviting them to occupy seats with us on the platform, where they will be afforded full facilities for such stenographic reports as they may have to make.

The custom in Prussia at every meeting where political subjects are discussed is just that—that representatives of the Department of Justice occupy seats on the platform and take down stenographically everything that is said. Inasmuch as we are very rapidly becoming Prussianized here there is all the more reason why we should extend this courteous invitation to the representatives of the Department should they be here on the assumption that this meeting is one, to quote the message again, "at which agitation against registration as prescribed in the new army bill, might be indulged in."

I should like to say that this is not such a meeting, and in order to make very clear that this is not such a meeting I shall read a statement prepared by the organizers of this Conference. I should like to hand the statement to the representatives of the Department and the press. (Dr. Magnes then read the following statement):

DECLARATION OF THE ORGANIZERS OF THE CONFERENCE ON TERMS OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

It is the inflexible purpose of the organizers of the First American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace to keep its discussions and its resolutions strictly within the law. Any resolution in any way advising any action contrary to law will be declared out of order.

We regard as perfectly within the law and we favor all discussion as to the wisdom or unwisdom of existing laws, all discussion as to their constitutionality and methods of testing their constitutionality, all discussion as to their repeal by Congress and all suggestions for the liberal interpretation of existing laws.

MR. DANIEL KIEFER: *Conscription and Democracy.*

The conscription act is both immoral and unconstitutional. It violates the prohibition of involuntary servitude. Not even the hair-splitting plea can be urged that the thirteenth amendment does not forbid national defense. Sending conscripts to Europe is not national defense, but mixing in the quarrels of outside nations. And if, as is suggested, conscripts can be compelled to work as farm hands, factory hands or in other civil occupations, the thirteenth amendment is not worth the paper it is written upon. So the first duty of a citizen who has been drafted is to appeal to the court for protection of his constitutional rights.

I cannot say that I have much confidence in the courts. I have had too many occasions to take note of decisions which seem to me indefensible. I have had occasion to discuss with my lawyer friends some of these decisions and I find that when a court has declared some popularly demanded law unconstitutional their defense is that the constitution is intended to protect minorities against oppression by the majority, and it is the court's duty to so declare. Very well, let us accept this view, and ask the courts either to make good this claim by declaring the conscription act unconstitutional, as it obviously is, or by a different course, impliedly admit, that they are merely tools of private interests, nullifying laws in the name of the constitution, when these interests so desire, and upholding laws, regardless of the constitution, when that is what is wanted.

But the conscription act is immoral as well as unconstitutional. The conscript must take an oath to obey, without question, commands of a superior officer. The oath says "lawful" commands, but no one has ever heard of a soldier who insisted on getting a legal opinion of his officer's command or a court decision thereon before

carrying it out. And every one has a pretty accurate idea of what would happen to a soldier who would object to a command that he felt sure was unlawful. So the conscript must be ready to commit any wrong ordered. Why is a good citizen not justified in taking advantage of any opportunity to avoid danger of such a situation?

The question is not of a citizen's duty to defend the country, if attacked without provocation. Such a situation does not confront us. We are at war, not because we are attacked, but because certain persons with authority wish to have us at war, regardless of necessity and regardless of the popular wishes. Otherwise there would have been a referendum on a declaration of war and a referendum on conscription. Peace can be had at any time, without sacrifice of principle, and with more honor than the most successful war can bring. But we do not even know what we are fighting for. It is not for restitution of property destroyed on the seas or to avenge slaughtered citizens. That would not justify more destruction and more slaughtering. No such reasons have been advanced anyway. But if we are at war for that reason what is it that Germany must do to atone for these crimes? How can she agree to do it, if she has not been told?

We have been told that it is a war for democracy. Well, any people that are determined to have democracy can have it without war. When Russia definitely decided to send the Czar packing, she did not need to wait for a victory over Germany to do so. She simply sent him away. We can get democracy in the United States, too, whenever we get as ready for it as Russia is.

If the object is to force democracy on Germany, regardless of the wishes of the German people, it must fail. Democracy is not to be obtained by abdication of the Hohenzollern dynasty, under pressure from outside of Germany. Until the German people want democracy it will be impossible to give it to them. They may be compelled to accept the form, but the spirit will be lacking as completely as in the United States army under conscription. And it will be undemocratic anyway to force democracy on those who do not want it.

But we should be told definitely what it is we want Germany to do in return for which we will make peace. By "we" I mean the United States. We need not worry about what Great Britain wants, France wants or any other belligerent wants. Unless the American people have been lied to, we did not enter the war on their account.

We should not only be told what is wanted, but if a majority of the American people do not care to hold out for the terms suggested, they should have the power to insist on peace on other terms, if they see fit. Democracy should begin at home; and the first fight that democracy must win is the fight against conscription and against war without consent of the people.

We are told by the President's proclamation that it is to be "in no sense a conscription of the unwilling." Mark the words "in no sense." That leaves no room for quibbling about it later. If the President speaks the truth then not a single objector to military service, conscientious or otherwise, will be compelled against his will to

bear arms. Who believes that conscription will be carried out in any such way? I fear that the drafting process will not long be in operation before Mr. Wilson will be explaining that in more senses than one it is conscription of the unwilling.

We are in a war which we are told is to save democracy for the world. We begin it by destroying democracy. This is shown not only by the bulldozing of Congress into declaration of war and passing a conscription law without a popular referendum, but by the assumption of autocratic powers everywhere. Even now the administration is again demanding that the press be gagged. Everywhere public speakers are arrested for exercising their constitutional rights and the courts are either too prejudiced or too timid to declare the illegality of such proceedings, order the victims released, and make clear the guilt of officials who have used their authority in this way.

Our State Department has taken upon itself to dictate with whom private American citizens traveling in foreign land may speak. It has refused passports to the delegates to the Stockholm Conference. Why? Not in the interest of democracy, that is certain. These delegates were devoted to democracy long before Secretary Lansing knew there was such a thing. They have sacrificed more for the cause of democracy than any man connected with the administration has yet shown himself capable of even considering. And they are ready to do much more. The conference they wish to attend is one of thorough democrats and the interests of democracy is their first consideration. It is only fear, lest they may do something to show that democracy can be saved by peace, much better than by war, that caused them to be stopped.

"And to our shame be it noted: The German autocracy has issued passports to Stockholm to her Socialist delegates, knowing that they are going to confer with delegates from so-called enemy countries. It seems to recognize to that extent anyway—by acts, if not by words, that its fight is not with the people. But we are so sure that we have no quarrel with the German people that we forbid American citizens under a strained construction of a resurrected eighteenth century statute to speak with representatives of the German people.

REV. RICHARD W. HOGUE, Director Open Forum, Baltimore, Md.: *The War and the Spirit of America.*

We are at war with our Government in the announced motive and purpose of the country's call to arms. We are sincere and conscientious objectors to the adoption of the method set before us, not only because of history's evidence of its futility, but because of its injury to liberty, its damage to democracy and its substitution of autocratic compulsion for their inalienable freedom of conscience which is the very foundation of the republic. There is abundant proof of the truth of this last statement. The proof reaches from the action of the trustees of Toledo University in opening its doors for the egress of

Scott Nearing to the action of Columbia in closing its doors to the message of Count Tolstoi.

There are one or two brief illustrations that I bring to you from Baltimore. We had a peace meeting in Baltimore before there had been any declaration of war, except on the part of the press. The peace meeting, as you have read from the papers, was broken up. Dr. Jordan was not permitted to speak. The youngsters, representing the aristocratic and mercenary interests, sent into the meeting by the so-called privileged class of older men, who did not have the courage to follow them, were, after the meeting, injured by the police, strange to say. The matter was made public. The police were indicted for unnecessary cruelty. The young men were indicted for inciting a riot—afterwards changed to disorderly conduct. The investigation began. I give you this just as an illustration of what is happening elsewhere in the interpretation of the effect of the war upon the spirit of democracy.

Fortunately in this investigation there was an unusual element, namely, the necessity of self-defence on the part of the investigating parties, the police department. It was proven by sworn confession, by affidavit and undenied fact, that the breaking up of the meeting was the result of a conspiracy formed very largely in the ammunition plants. We have the confession of men working in those plants. This led to the failure of the backers of the disturbers of public meetings to prosecute the police, and the matter is at a standstill. Marshall Cotter, the head of our police force, furnishes an illustration that is interesting and perhaps profitable. He said in the press, or was reported in the press to have said, and did not deny it, that no wonder the meeting was broken up, because of the unpatriotic utterances of the speaker, Mr. Benjamin Marsh, who actually claimed that the opponents to peace were largely among the ammunition makers.

After investigating for the purpose of defending his own police, he came home one day and put his hand on my shoulder and said: "We have got them and the strange thing about it is, Mr. Hogue, that we have found absolute proof of the statement of your men that the ammunition makers and bankers are behind this whole thing." I was either too stunned, too kind hearted or too politic to remind him of the inconsistency of his conclusion.

Following that meeting, there was another incident. A Socialist, an employee of the post office, was arrested for the alleged knocking over of a reading desk (as reported in the papers). It happened to be a tiny music stand, that would not have hurt even a pacifist if it had hit him. Without due course of trial, though under civil service, without permission to summon a witness, he was discharged from his position. There were those of us who would have taken it up but for the fact that the man himself did not wish to be reinstated. He preferred freedom to a job. Part of that freedom he is exercising by being on the floor of this convention to-day.

The open forum was implicated by the newspapers and by the parties who destroyed the peace meeting in the affair. Anonymous

letters were written to the manager of the theatre, which we had engaged for the entire year, and the result has been another illustration of the spirit of the war upon freedom of assemblage, in that the theatre has been closed to us—even to the Open Forum. We bided our time, and permitted the psychological effect of evident injustice to win its way in the community, which it has done, and on last Sunday we opened the Open Forum in a hall formerly endowed and owned by Johns Hopkins University, and the man who introduced our speaker was a professor of this school, although the country all over reported that the professors of this university were among those that disturbed the peace meeting. Next Sunday we have the concluding session, the speaker being Congressman Jeannette Rankin, on "Democracy and Government."

I want to quote to you a letter that I just received, which I believe to be more widespread in its application than we perhaps realize to-day. A Harvard student—typical, clean cut, high minded and thoroughly loyal in his Americanism—enlisted in the officers' reserve corps and is in training. He happens to be closely related to me, and so this letter came, at the conclusion of which were these singularly significant sentences: "Sherman is wrong. War is not hell. It is worse than hell." And then he proceeded very briefly to give the impression that came to his soul, I think one might say, as he handled the deadly and devilish implements by which men now kill other men. He wound up by saying, "You and your wife are fortunate that this is a case in which the wife and the husband are together on pacifism. You and your wife are dead right through and through in your stand for peace, but at this crisis of the world's history, we have got to overthrow autocracy." Of course, you know, he had to add that.

The repression of liberty of speech is the foundation of injustice and the origin of anarchy. And the presence of the ideal and the influence of the forces of love is the only enduring power by which you or I or humanity can stand the test of this hour of crisis, or of any other in the days to come.

GILBERT E. ROE, President, Free Speech League of America, New York. *Free Speech, Free Press and the Right of Assemblage.*

The provision of the constitution guaranteeing the rights of free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage is still in force. It has not been repealed yet, the censorship bill of the country notwithstanding. And I want to tell you that under those provisions of the constitution, you have got a right to discuss every act of your Government and every act of the officials of your Government. I don't care whether it is a declaration of war, or a treaty of peace—I don't care whether it is a tariff act, or a draft act. So long as that provision of the constitution stands, we people of this country have got a right to discuss those subjects.

We have got a right to commend or condemn the acts of our representative with regard to those subjects. And we have got a

right, if the acts of our representatives do not suit us, to remove them and put others in their places. I have here the present censorship bill. There are two provisions of the censorship bill equally obnoxious to free speech and the free press. One comes under the heading of the mails, the other comes under the heading of espionage. The papers have said very little about the use of the mails as it is forbidden to certain classes of matter under this bill, but in this country to-day if you can shut out of the mails matter which some post office official inferior, stupid, and bigoted may declare to be seditious, anarchistic, or treasonable, why you can control what the people shall read in this country more effectually than any press censorship, and that is what one of the provisions of this bill attempted to do.

Now, the other provision, and the provision which the newspapers are very much alive to is the provision that provides that when the United States is at war the publishing wilfully of information with respect to the movement, numbers, description or disposition of any of the armed forces of the United States and military operation is against the law, and that the President may, from time to time, by proclamation declare the character of such above described information, which is, or may be, unlawful.

Before they had the revolution in China, there was a provision of the Chinese Penal Code which for definiteness and informing a man whether he has committed a crime or not, I would recommend be substituted for this provision of the Espionage Bill. Here is the way it read: "Whoever is guilty of improper conduct, and of such as is contrary to the spirit of the law, though not a breach of any specific part of it, shall be punished by at least forty blows, and when the impropriety is of a serious nature, with eighty blows."

Now that was the Penal Code of China before they abolished the empire over there, and it is a good deal more satisfactory as a designation of what constitutes a crime, than the Espionage Bill which the administration is demanding of the Congress that it should pass, because the Espionage Bill just leaves it up to the President to say what information relating to the army, its movements, its equipment, anything about it, shall be regarded as a crime to give out to the people.

You know it is awfully hard to be much of a pacifist and discuss this thing. But fortunately the newspapers are taking pretty good care of this feature of the Censorship Bill. The newspapers are going to see to it that they discuss pretty thoroughly the manner in which the war is conducted. I notice in the press dispatches that the Press Censorship Bureau, which they have organized down in Washington, put out a document the other day, and in it they said that the Department of State disapproved of—now I am quoting from the pamphlet, "Discussion of difference of opinion between the Allies, and difficulties with neutral countries." That is one thing that they disapprove of discussing. Also "that it disapproved speculation as to possible peace." Another thing, also, "That it disapproves anything likely to prove offensive to any of the Allies or the neutrals."

Now after you have expurgated your conversation in accordance with the directions of the Press Censorship Bureau you may be perfectly safe, but you will be mighty uninteresting. Now notice that they say here what they don't want you to discuss—they are just putting this out as a feeler. If you will stand for it, you will get the law after a little.

Coming down on the train this morning, I clipped this out of the *New York Times*, and the *New York Times* says that this is a communication from the Workmen's and Soldier's Delegation in Petrograd to Great Britain. Here is what the *Times* said they said to the English "What about the historic injustices committed by yourselves? And your violent oppression of Ireland, India, Egypt, and innumerable peoples inhabiting all the continents of the world? If you are so anxious for justice, that you are prepared, in its name to send millions of people to the grave, then, gentlemen, begin with yourselves." If that is sedition, prosecute the *New York Times*. I hope if this Conference does nothing else, it will go on record as declaring that every newspaper and every citizen in this country has an inalienable right to discuss the war, and every feature of it, that they have a right to discuss its beginning, and they have a right to discuss its ending. They have a right to discuss the causes that led up to it, and they have a right to discuss the policies that should terminate it. More than all this, they have a right and it is the most solemn duty of the voters at the first opportunity to elect to office only those representatives who are obeying the will of the majority of the people of the country.

Now, just a word in conclusion. I believe that the great body of American citizenship are going to be fair. They are going to be honest—they are going to be patriotic, and they are going to put first and foremost the interests of this country. I believe that is going to be done. There may be extremists on both sides. That is always true, but the great body of slow-moving, hard-headed, common-sense American people lie between, and after all they are going to determine what is going to be done. Remember that what may seem so very plain to you is not so very plain to someone who has not thought along your lines, but do not be "bluffed" on this subject of Free Speech. Remember that the first amendment of the constitution stands. I would say it with greater emphasis if I were a member of the forces of the present Administration, for I want to say if any administration in this country wants to seek trouble it will find it along the line of denying the constitutional rights of Free Speech and of Free Press. I have no patience with the claim that Democrats cannot fight a war. Oh, Democrats can fight a war all right, but Democrats want to select the war they are going to fight. That means simply that we want to talk about it. We want to think it over. We want to make up our minds what is the right thing to do, and then we are going to do the right thing, and we are not going to Mexico or California, or anywhere else, to escape obligations.

REV. NORMAN M. THOMAS, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York City: *Conscription and the Conscientious Objection.*

May I begin by making it plain that the problem of Conscription is by no means exclusively the problem of the Conscientious Objector. I need not take time to remind you that nearly every militaristic paper is working hard and continually for the enactment of universal military training and service. We have got to fight that thing, and fight it hard and continually. There are certain arguments continually advanced in favor of it. They are either astonishingly unreflective or else dishonest. For instance, we are told that an army of a proletariat is in itself a democratic army, as opposed to a hired army. Now I need hardly say that some of us, call us what you will, are out to rid the world of the curse of militarism and therefore we are not shut up to these alternatives. But there is another thing. It is astonishing to say that because you take the sons of the people and train them to fight, therefore you have a democratic army. What becomes of the officers? What becomes of the machine guns? Do the people keep possession of them? You take our young men at the most impressionable age—you subject them to a well-thought-out system of military training. You know that Major-General O'Ryan told us once and for all what the purpose of military training is. It is to do what we call, when we are dealing with animals—"breaking the will" to habits of automatic and unquestioning obedience, and these are not habits which make a great democracy. They are not the habits by which the unnumbered social problems of the world are to be solved. Moreover, you cannot discipline men's minds in this way without inspiring them with an intense nationalism and glorifying war. Therefore, we are told that to preserve peace in the world, and democracy, we must adopt that system which has bulwarked autocracy and made it possible to precipitate this terrible conflict.

As for the selective draft that we now have, it is a condition and not a theory which confronts us. In it is involved the beginning of a theory of government which is not democratic or true to American traditions. The public should know exactly what we have got in order that they may begin a systematic agitation for its repeal. However improbable that repeal is in time of war, there is an educational value in making the public see facts, and see them plainly, stripped of a great deal of the embellishment which has been put upon them. In the first place, men are affected who are not the stock of which martyrs are made. They are not conscientious objectors. Yet these have possibilities of useful service. Now they are told that they must be regimented to fight, not for their homes, but thousands of miles away in a war which maybe they'd ought to understand, but which they do not understand, on the order of a Government which has not appealed to the people, either on the issue of the war, or upon Conscription itself. I can understand how Robert Brooke went out to battle with a sort of exaltation. He saw a great issue, which made war a holy crusade, and lifted up his soul above the horrible demoralization of the battlefield. No such partial redemption comes to the poor conscript who

is suddenly taken from his home and friends, and told he must fight. What will be the effect upon future citizens of America of subjecting them to that sort of thing? We ought to ask the American public, which after all is the last court of resort, to think on these things.

Now we come to the problem of the conscientious objector. It seems to me that conscientious objectors may be classified in two ways: first, those who object to this war, either on sentimental or rational grounds, and those that object to all wars on social or religious grounds. I have talked personally to young Americans of German birth, to whom this issue is a tragedy of the deepest sort. They are loyal Americans. They have not one thought of treason. Some of them would do alternative service for their country, but the thought of being conscripted to fight against those who are their kith and kin is too bitter for their souls. Is that an emotion to be crushed? Would not that impulse be, in the minds of a wise government, a very basis for building up more wholesome international relations in the future. Why must we becloud issues? These men, I repeat, are not pro-Germans, but they are men whose hearts are being broken, by service that may be forced upon them.

The conscientious objector to all wars may be classified in various ways by the description of his objection. (1) There are certain religious sects who because their scriptures say, "Thou shalt not kill" will not kill, but will accept non-combatant service—even the making of munitions. (2) There are those who will accept alternative service; such as relief work, the raising of food, etc. They would argue that in time of war, if a man does any useful work at all, he is giving his strength to the support of the Government. (3) There is a third class who say that any compulsory change of occupation in time of war is essentially a war service and that the logic of that position demands that the person, no matter how much he may love his country, has to show that love by putting conscience and convictions first, and therefore he will not, at whatever cost to himself, accept compulsion. This third position is clearly heroic and perhaps most clearly logical.

It is sometimes said that the conscientious objector is an anti-social creature. He wants to save his own soul. It is not fair to say that the conscientious objector is primarily a "passivist," that is, a man who does nothing at all, but lets the world wag its own way. A conscientious objector of the real stamp is the man who believes that there is a better way than by killing; that there are economic and spiritual methods which would solve the problems of the world a thousand times more efficiently than by war. The conscientious objector of that stamp does not for one moment countenance the ravaging of Belgium or the sinking of the Lusitania. He is a man who abhors that sort of thing so much that he is convinced that violence does not cure violence—that hate is not conquered by hate—that you cannot conquer Prussian militarism by Prussianizing the free nations of the world. He is one of those prophets who are trying to work out the redemption of mankind. It is at least a surprising thing that outside of the church I have never met any man who did not believe that Jesus, of Nazareth, would

have been a conscientious objector. It is only inside the church that people have doubts. And I know of nothing more appalling to all lovers of liberty and of the free human spirit than to say that Jesus of Nazareth, or men of His spirit—brave, free souls, would have to be regimented to go out to kill or else be called cowards and slackers and scum of the earth. What has come over the American people that that sort of thing should be done? Hope for the world springs out of the idealism of the man who sees the star and follows that star, rather than the will-o'-the-wisp of advantage. You may not agree with that man's conscience. I am not pleading for your agreement, I am pleading with you to consider who is to save the world if we are to crush our idealists, our dreamers; to think of that hideous evil which is done when the Government takes the man who was made to be the leader of mankind in science, in art and thought, and conscripts him for the purpose of being cannon fodder or for the purpose of destroying his fellow men, which is far worse to this man's conscience. Therefore I beg you to remember that the conscientious objector is not anti-social, that in him is hope for the world, and this, despite such eloquent champions as an ex-President of the United States and others of the opposite view.

But my plea is not primarily for the conscientious objector; if he be of the stock of which martyrs are made he will prove once more that martyrs advance causes, even more than brave soldiers. But I plead for our country—for the America that we have loved—for the tradition which has made some of us through all our days think of America as the home of the exiled for conscience's sake. Never mind what particular kind of conscience drove our fathers here. The best blood of America was furnished by men who left home and friends and country to follow their dream, and from the Pilgrim fathers until the last immigrant for conscience's sake, America has stood forth for the tradition of freedom of conscience—without which there is no religion, and without which there is no democracy. What have we to offer to the world, if that tradition be taken away from us? What conceivable service ranks with the service that the republic of the West has rendered to mankind? I am speaking not merely in the name of tradition, I am speaking in the name of democracy herself. Autocracy may exist by armed coercion of individual will. Democracy cannot so exist, and to stifle the liberty of conscience of the man who is trying to think, is for democracy to inflict perhaps a slow, but nevertheless a mortal wound upon herself. There is one weapon, and one weapon alone, known to a democracy to convert the foolish man, and that is the weapon of reason—of the power of ideas, and that weapon you deny.

My position religiously, my every conviction makes me, if you will, an extreme foe of war—I will not say a non-resistant, because I believe there are forms of existence of the highest type, but I am opposed absolutely to organized violence; therefore I would see with sorrow any violent resistance to this law, because I believe it is the wrong method. I cannot make that too plain, and yet I know mankind well enough to feel reasonably certain that the Govern-

ment cannot suddenly turn from old established institutions in America without meeting with violence, and for that reason I plead that Amerca consider these things. And I plead for a deeper reason. To what purpose is the investment of life by thousands of men who have gone to fight for ideals? If, after all, we get the Prussian state? And what is the difference between a Prussian state and a democratic state—that one has an hereditary Kaiser and the other an elected President? We are not in the kindergarten. It is more fundamental. It is this: The Prussian state is above the moral law and individuals exist for the state. The democratic state must be guided by the moral law, and it exists for the well-being of great companies of individuals. Now, democracy demands mutual accomodation. It does not demand the surrendering of that very thing which, if a man be religious at all, he believes to prove him the son of God. To substitute the Prussian ideal for the American ideal in a war to make the world safe for democracy is a cause for anguish on the part of those who love America. What is there then that we can do for this thing? I have already said that we can educate the public looking to the repeal of conscription. We can give legal, material, moral aid to the conscientious objector. We can seek for such liberal exemption power as denies as little as possible of American liberties. The law exempts the Quakers. Conscience is not corporate; it is individual. Let us demand that this principle be recognized in the administration of the law even while we urge its amendment in accordance with justice.

We must continually appeal to the might of ideals even in the midst of war, and yet, if we want to serve liberty in the world, there is, in my judgment, one fundamental call, and that is to work for universal democratic peace. Even without conscription the war psychology inevitably exerts coercions over men's minds of a terrible sort. For example, there is no conscription law compelling one to buy Liberty Bonds, and yet, if the *Evening Telegram* is correct, a certain gentleman in Chicago gave advice to his salesmen in this wise: "If a man does not buy your bond knock him down." This is liberty as it sometimes exists in war times. And the war psychology can be cured in the end only by peace in the right terms, democratic and universal. Therefore, there is no more fundamental service we can render than to make men think and act along lines that lead to peace. And now my time is up, save for one quotation. There is one sign of help, a sign of help dear to me, for I am a minister of the church, and I love the church, in spite of her failures. The thing that I want to read is the declaration of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America. "When the state compels men to military service it raises the ancient religious question of freedom of conscience. Churches which have furnished martyrs for this principle are under particular obligation to see that the conscientious objector is allowed such non-combatant service as does not violate his conscience. We, therefore, request the administrative committee to

carefully consider what practical steps can be taken to secure this end." This is something from the church. It shows that there is an uneasy conscience in America even now. Let us appeal like men to that conscience. Let us appeal for that which is holy, which alone will make the world safe for democracy, and that is the right of the human conscience to be formed freely without compulsory military training, and to be exercised freely, guided by the principle of love for one's kind.

HARRY WEINBERGER, Counsel American Legal Defense League,
New York: *The First Casualties in War.*

You will always have as much liberty as you have the courage to take. I don't believe that we should wait until the end of the war to demand and take our liberties in this country. I don't believe that any country has the right to force into the army or to compel any individual to do any work against his conscience. I believe that the highest law of this country, the Constitution of the United States, guarantees every man that right. In the darkest hours of the Revolution Thomas Paine wrote, "These are the times that try men's souls." And we can say the same. History shows that the first casualties of war are free speech and free press and all the liberties of the people—that is, if the people are supine enough to allow it.

The tyrannies of majorities are as bad as tyrannies of kings and force is never a remedy. Are you going to wait for peace to maintain your rights or are you going to maintain them here and now. The greatest right in the world is the right to be wrong, because when governments or majorities think you are right they don't interfere, but as soon as they think you are wrong then comes ostracism, then comes the police with their jails and torture and their fines, taking away whatever rights and liberty you have, if you are willing to allow them to be taken away.

Every right we have to-day, every liberty that we have to-day, was paid for by the blood, the liberty, the happiness of some individual in the past that had the courage to stand up in the face of tyranny. I am pro-American. I believe in liberty as guaranteed in the Constitution. But must I stand silent? Must I stand weak, because this democracy wants to overthrow autocracy? Must I remain silent while we become an autocracy to overthrow autocracy? Or shall we say to the world: "If we fight, we fight as free men—not as slaves!"

One of the cases that the American Legal Defense has defended in this city was that of a man who gave out peace pamphlets to people who believed in war, but I have not heard of a single editor who preached war in the time of peace being sent to jail. I have not heard of a single editor now who sells a war newspaper to a Quaker or a Pacifist being sent to jail. And if Christ came back to New York to-day and got out in a pamphlet form his sermon

on the mount or Moses got out the ten commandments in a pamphlet form, they would both be sent to the workhouse for six months. And then they tell us to wait till after the war.

I would repeat the words of Wendell Phillips: "If there is anything which cannot bear discussion let it crack." "What government," says Oliver Cromwell, "except a despotic government fears paper shot?"

Fifth Session

Thursday, May 31, 3 P. M.

JOB HARRIMAN, Los Angeles, Chairman.

FOLA LA FOLLETTE, New York, read the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization and Future Activity.

REBECCA SHELLY, New York: "*Suggestions for a People's Council of America.*"

Congress, as now constituted, does not represent the will of the American people. We believe the vast majority of our fellow citizens want to express and make effective the people's will on the question of peace or war, democracy or militarism.

The big question is, "How shall we go about it." It is impracticable and, we fear, futile to start another society or league to work along the old lines.

We propose, therefore, that this Conference commit itself to the immediate organization of a People's Council, modeled after the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which is the sovereign power in Russia to-day.

The People's Council should be made up of delegates duly elected by any organization or section of an organization which has a thousand *bona fide* members and subscribers to the fundamental aims of the People's Council—real democracy at home, and an early general peace based on the terms already announced by the Russian Government.

Upon this broad basis of organization the Council should include representatives from political, social, religious, humanitarian, educational and geographical groups, and from the live peace organizations. But the majority of delegates should come from the progressive trade union locals, the single taxers, the vigorous Socialist locals, the Granges, the Farmers' Co-operative Union and other agricultural organizations. The Council should represent ideas, territorial sections and voting power. Most of all, it should represent the productive working classes, which, if welded together for common action in a common cause, will make their voice effective in the councils of the nation. At the outset the basis of representation in the Council might be one delegate for every thousand constituents. Each organization or group would pay the expenses of its own delegates.

The first session of the People's Council might begin in the Middle West on August 1, with the immediate object "To consider ways and means of re-establishing representative government in America

and to work for an early and lasting peace." While Congress is in session, and especially in times of crisis, the Council should sit in Washington as the authoritative spokesman for the American people.

The first act of the Council might be to draft a bill or resolution stating concretely the terms upon which our government should make peace—such a bill or resolution then to be presented to Congress with the organized backing of the constituents of the Council.

It should demand the repeal of the conscription laws. It should defend free speech. It should protect our fundamental American liberties. It should be on the alert to safeguard labor standards and the rights of working women and children. It should turn the searchlight on the doings of Congress through a news bulletin.

The Council should act also as a medium through which the democratic leaders and groups of Europe could speak to the people of America. Most important at this time, it should interpret the significance of the peace Conference in Stockholm. If our government persists in refusing passports to the delegates to this Conference, the People's Council might invite representatives from the Stockholm Conference to lay its findings before the American people through the medium of the Council.

Briefly, the most essential function of the Council would be to preserve and extend democracy at home and to work in co-operation with the people of all the world for a speedy general peace, with no forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities and free development for all nations.

(The remainder of the Fifth Session was devoted to the informal discussion of the Committee report and Miss Shelly's plan. As the greater part of the discussion pertained to questions of registry under the Conscription Act, June 5, 1917, and therefore without permanent value, it has been omitted from this record.

The Resolutions as adopted may be found in the early pages of this brochure. Miss Shelly's plan was recommended to the favorable consideration of the executive committee as provided for in the resolutions on Permanent Organization and Future Activities.)

Sixth Session

Thursday Evening, May 31, 1917

MASS MEETING AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

DR. J. L. MAGNES, New York, Chairman.

DR. MAGNES:

We have come here to-night as law-abiding and peaceable citizens to dedicate ourselves again to the cause of peace. In our exaltation of peace and our abhorrence of war it is necessary for us in these trying times to comfort ourselves as honest men and women and at the same time show our allegiance to that America which in the years that have passed we were taught to love for her advocacy of liberty and democracy.

In order that there may be no possible misinterpretation put upon our purposes or our words, we have the pleasure perhaps for the first time in an American public gathering of welcoming in our midst three representatives of the United States Department of Justice. These fellow citizens of ours are here in response to a mandate of the Attorney General of this country, who has given instructions appearing in the public prints this morning that the officers and agents of the Department in communities wherever meetings are held or likely to be held at which agitation against registration as prescribed in the new army bill might be indulged in should be present in order to have stenographic reports made of the addresses delivered.

I believe that the sessions of our Conference over two days must furnish abundant proof that it is not in the purpose of the organizers of or the delegates to this conference that such activities or such addresses should be entered upon. Any resolution in any way advising any action contrary to law will be declared out of order. Resolutions that were this afternoon presented in connection with this conscription question were referred back by the conference to the executive committee, because there was some shadow of a doubt as to whether or not the formulation of the committee might be interpreted as coming strictly within the law.

We promised the delegates to the conference that at the end of its sessions the executive committee, together with such responsible advisors as it could summon, would consider as new resolutions, and as a consequence of these deliberations the following resolutions are announced as the resolutions of our conference in place of, and as substitutes for, the draft resolutions, handed in by the committee, and appearing in the press this afternoon as our reso-

lutions before we had adopted them. The resolutions which are our utterance on this question are as follows: These resolutions we believe and we are informed on what we think good authority are strictly within the law. Otherwise we should not be presenting them here this night.

"Inasmuch as we believe conscription laws to be unconstitutional, violating the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, we appeal to the Congress of the United States so to amend the conscription act before June 5 as to grant exemption to all conscientious objectors whether or not they be members of recognized religious organizations.

"Inasmuch as young men of conscriptable age are inquiring whether or not military registration on June 5 will subject them immediately to military law and will compel them to work without the protection of labor laws, under any conditions which the military executive may force upon them,

"And inasmuch as the legal branch of the Department of War has up to the present time refused to give definite information on this subject,

"Be it resolved that this conference hereby appeals to the government for a full and unmistakable pronouncement on this point."

The conference has decided to elect an organizing executive committee of seven persons, with power to add to their number, in order to organize a permanent delegated People's Council from all sympathetic groups, to give immediate and permanent effect to the resolutions of the conference. It has been decided to call this new organization a People's Council—in the first place, because we believe most sincerely that we speak for the American people and in the second place we have given it the name Council, because that name is now a new and glorious word in the vocabulary of all free and liberty loving men the world over—because the word Council is the word that has been given to their Council by the free Russian people.

JAMES MAURER, President of the Pennsylvania A. F. of L.:

I assure you that this is about the largest crowd I ever spoke to. I shall give you my views as a workingman, representing nearly 500,000 workingmen and women. In 1912 the slogan in Mr. Wilson's campaign was that if they succeeded they were going to reduce the cost of living. And they succeeded. Last year the slogan was, He kept us out of war. Now, we have the highest cost of living that we ever had since I knew anything of this world, and we are at war besides.

When the European war broke out President Wilson issued a proclamation advising the people of this country to be neutral, and I believe that all of us of the common people tried to be neutral. I know I did. We soon discovered, however, that the certain munition interests and banking interests were not neutral. They were taking sides by

supplying munitions of war—the food speculators supplying the food and the money lenders the money, not to all the belligerents, but to one part of them. They did it so openly. There was no objection on the part of the government. Then they boasted “that they are going to make all the money they could while the making was good,” and they made it. The money was spent with the interests in this country, until the money was all used up. Then credits were asked for and credits were extended and they commenced buying on credit and the credits piled up so high that those who extended credits were fearful lest the side which they were financing should lose and they should lose their money. Then a campaign of preparedness began. We were told that unless we prepared there would be war. Therefore, to escape war, we must prepare for war. We agitated against the programme, but they were insistent that we were not preparing for war, but we were preparing against war. They insisted that unless we were prepared the Japanese would come in here and annihilate us. Another time it was the Allies. They were at that time rather stubborn about our mails. Then later on the Germans would do it, and therefore we must prepare against invasion. All of you will agree that that was the programme. No one admitted that we are preparing for war, only to prevent war. The newspapers were lined up. The moving pictures were lined up and then the big parades started simultaneously all over this nation—preparedness parades—and that is when the unorganized workers got their first taste of conscription. The unorganized were conscripted by their bosses and told to go out and parade.

The next move was to Washington, to convince Congress that they needed preparations large enough to protect against an invading enemy. Congress complied with the request against the protest of thousands—millions of people, and they prepared. We said a year ago, “As sure as you prepare you will go to war just as the rest did who were prepared,” and sure enough you did.

Now, friends, we are at war. It was said to-day to me I was too old and what need I care. I have a son and a son-in-law, and besides I have the working class, the millions, who are just as dear to me as even I am to myself. They are going to conscript the workers for war, but there has never been a word said yet about conscripting the wealth of the rich for war. I say if it is right to enter the poor man’s home or the widow’s home to take the widow’s only son and say, “We take him and use him because we need him”—if that is right and the government says it is, then I want someone to explain to me why it would not be just as right for the same government to go to the rich and say, “Here, we want your money, we are at war, and we are going to take it.

We who stand for peace, we who stand for justice, are condemned and branded as cowards, as shrimps, as weaklings, as spineless. Well, I am here to tell you to-night my long experience in the struggles for the uplift of the working class. I learned to know men. I learned to know that the man who talks the loudest about fighting can usually be found under the table when something starts. We are asking now—

this Convention that was here for two days—what Congress demands. We want to know what we are going to fight about.

We want to know what the peace terms will be. Surely we have a right to know that. They tell us, the only reason I have heard yet, that we went to war to democratize Europe. If we are going to do that, let us make it the world while we are at it, and while we are democratizing Europe, Asia and Africa let us not overlook the fact that we ought to stick right here on the job in the United States too.

The request came to our Governor of Pennsylvania from this Committee of National Defense in Washington, asking him to appeal to us in the Legislature to suspend our labor laws in Pennsylvania. We are to make that sacrifice, and already they are thinking of running stores day and night, in anticipation that we are going to suspend the laws, and I promise you to-night that there is disappointment awaiting the people who think we are going to suspend the laws in Pennsylvania. England tried it. When the war broke out in England they threw all labor laws aside.

DR. MAGNES (referring to a slight disturbance created by several soldiers in uniform) :

I want to make an appeal to those who are with us not to let themselves be disturbed by a mere handful of our dear soldier boys. If they, wearing the insignia of the United States, to whose laws we owe obedience, choose to create a disturbance at a peaceable meeting, I ask those of you who are with us not to reply. That will help our cause.

The next speaker is one whom it is rather difficult to introduce. It is difficult to introduce him because, although we are happy to have him with us, we should much rather have seen him now on his way to the Socialist Conference. I should like to say that in this evening's papers we read that English Socialists will be at the Stockholm Conference. Yesterday we read that French Socialists will be there. We have known all along that Russian Socialists would be there. In all likelihood Italian, Serbian and other Socialists of our Allies will be there. Only the representatives of free America will be absent.

MORRIS HILLQUIT:

I am thankful to you from the bottom of my heart for your cordial reception. I am touched by the evidence of your fellowship—your affections. I am proud of it, but I want to say to you that your affection for me is as nothing compared with the tender regard which the government of this country is lately showing to me. Some time ago I made up my mind to go away for a little while on important business at Stockholm and I said to the Secretary of State, to the Administration of the United States, "Gentlemen, I have been having a perfectly lovely time, but now, really, I must go for a little while." And they said, "No, no, Mr. Hillquit, why, what is your hurry? Please stay with us a little longer." And their hospitality became so urgent and so insistent that I could not resist it, believe me.

And when I came here to-night to keep my appointment with you I passed through a cortege of police officers—hundreds of them—anxiously looking out for the protection of my precious safety and person, and finally, when I come here, I find the government has deputed three of its most intelligent representatives to perpetuate every one of my precious words for the archives of the United States, and I shall be very glad to make a record for them, to give them pretty good literature, that one will be able to read without being ashamed in the years to come.

I am going to say first of all for the record and for you that we are here to-night by the thousands and many thousands, as many this immense hall will hold, in order to join our voice in one reverberating cry for peace—peace for the people of the United States, peace for all nations, peace for the world and humanity at large. For the people of the United States and the people of other nations do not want war. No normal person wants war and debt and suffering. We all want peace and life and joy. Some of our stupid metropolitan newspapers want war and are to make their readers believe that war is a thing of joy and happiness. Outside of them, every sane person knows the contrary. Even the most bellicose of militarists admit that war is an evil—the greatest, the darkest evil that ever visited mankind.

The difference between them and us is that they say it is a necessary evil, and we say it is most unnecessary—most wanton—the most wanton of all evils—an evil deliberately brought about by the cupidity of the classes and by the stupidity of the masses. The people of the United States do not have to be told at this time what war is and implies. Even to the most obtuse, the meaning of war must by this time have become perfectly clear.

For three years the nations of Europe have been in convulsions of death and destruction. Millions of men have been slain by the mad hands of their fellow men—millions have been maimed and crippled for life. Countries have been devastated. Civilizations have been destroyed. Death, suffering, agony, anguish has befallen the unfortunate nations of Europe. A heavy, black cloud of suffering and despair is oppressing their lives and their existence. That is what war is bound to do to every nation which decided deliberately to join in this mad carnival of demented nations now engaged in war.

We know what war means. We have seen war and we are here to-night to ask ourselves—to ask the world: Are we to wait until this country has undergone all the sufferings, all the privations, all the anguish of the nations of Europe, before we shall be allowed to cry out for peace and sanity or are we now and here to organize an intelligent, a wise, a courageous movement of the people to put an end to war and all of its sufferings and to bring about peace?

We have a right to ask that question. Within a few days ten millions of our young men will present themselves for military registration. Five hundred thousand of them will be pressed into the service at once. Five hundred thousand more perhaps will be drafted within a short time. They will be taken away from their fathers and

mothers, from their homes or schools—from their accustomed pursuits and modes of life. They will be herded together for months in training camps and drilled, drilled, drilled in the deadly art of modern warfare and then eventually, perhaps, sent to that terrible place from which there is rarely any return—that dread place somewhere in France, where they may fill the gaps in the trenches caused by the voracious guns of the enemy.

Our sons, our brothers, ourselves—we have a right to demand—what is this people called upon to make these sacrifices for? For what ends, for what aims are we fighting? Are we to fight in self-defense or are we to shed our blood to gratify the feeling of vengeance or the lust of conquest of foreign nations? We want to know. We are entitled to know.

In one of his many memorable speeches President Wilson has said, We are to fight to make the world safe for democracy." We wish we could share that optimism, "make the world safe for democracy," by crushing our own democracy at home or establish democracy in a foreign, hostile country by an armed force. Oh no, democracy does not come from without. It must come from within. Democracy cannot be established by gunfire, but by the fires of reason.

Then, another slogan has recently been launched by some of our newspaper men and statesmen. We are told we must take the place of Russia in this war. What a slogan pregnant with deep and sinister meaning, "We must take the place of Russia." The Russian people, after three years of war, forced by the Czar, have tired of slaughtering each other, have tired of this ghastly game of killing, and they have said, "No, neither shall be shed the blood of others to satisfy any lust of conquest. We demand peace for the world." They have left a vacancy in the military camp. We are now training millions of our citizens to take their place; in this bloody dance we are to take the place of Russia.

The Russian people have risen in their might—shaken off the yoke of despotism, of oppression, of arbitrary persecution, of press censorship, of curtailed personal liberties. We—we are introducing now press censorship and persecution and militarism and rigid supervision over all of our actions. We are taking the place of Russia. Russia has de-throned her Czar. Russia has established democracy, a reign of freedom, a reign of reason. We are cultivating despotism, passion and unreason in our own country.

We are taking the place of Russia and we say to the people of our country: Now, rather than to take the place of the old, discredited Russia, of the Czar, let us make common cause with the modern Russia, the Russia of the people, the Russia of freedom. Let us demand immediate peace. And don't think that your protest will be in vain. Don't think that you will have no influence upon the coming of the day of peace. Thousands like you in every city of this country—thousands like you in every city of France, England, Germany, Austria, Russia—the people—the whole people—the people in its

might—the people alone will establish an eternal, a general, a glorious peace, and nobody else. The kings and the czars, crowned and uncrowned, have precipitated this war, have destroyed civilization, have thrown us into the abyss. It remains for the people themselves to save civilization, to save mankind. Long live democracy! Long live peace forever!

Dr. Magnes made an appeal for money and a collection was taken up amounting to \$1,086. The slips prepared for pledges and membership signatures had been confiscated by the authorities.

MAX EASTMAN, Editor *The Masses*, New York:

When you have to make a speech in these days it is very hard to decide what it is safe to say. When anybody tries to stop the war he gets arrested for disturbing the peace. When anybody questions whether we are fighting a war for liberty he gets knocked on the head and deprived of his own liberty in order to prove to him that we are. But there is one thing that I want to say, and that I believe I have a right to say, even in a Prussianized America, and that is that if our government intends to try to conscript its citizens and ship them over to Europe to fight it will be a wise policy for our government to give an itemized statement of the purposes for which they will be fighting.

Some people want to repeal or amend any conscription law, because they object to being marched in a chain gang, even when they can see where they are going. But I believe that hundreds of thousands of people will want to repeal this conscription law, because they object to being marched in a chain gang, blindfolded. The people of this country expressed their opposition to our joining the war of the Allies last November when they returned Woodrow Wilson to the White House as a peace President. But in spite of that expression of the will of the people war has been declared and the government, acknowledging that it was not able to raise a volunteer army of 500,000 free citizens, adopted the principle of a conscriptive draft. What they are planning to do with this conscription act is to gather the free citizens of this republic into small squares and ship them over a bloody sea to Europe to be slaughtered in a war that is raging between other governments than their own, and up to the present moment they have not even had enough respect for the intelligence of those citizens, even to tell them the purposes for which they are being marched into the pen. I believe that I am within my rights as a sovereign citizen when I condemn, without qualification, this policy of our government. I want to be informed in plain language what are the terms of peace.

DR. SCOTT NEARING, Toledo, Ohio:

The last time that I had an opportunity to speak on this platform I urged those of you here then present to regard this war merely as an incident—merely as one link in a long chain of sequential events,

and during the five minutes that I have to-night I want to repeat and perhaps amplify a little bit what I said at that time. During the past forty years the plutocratic oligarchy that dominates the life of America has secured possession of the natural resources, the franchises, the transportation agencies, the credit machinery and the various other social tools of production. They have likewise at their beck and call the daily press, the pulpit, the college rostrum, the school system and the various other channels through which public opinion is formed, and during the past forty years the plutocracy has been fastening the grip of its power on the American people.

One of the great avenues of plutocratic activity has been the investment of billions of dollars in Mexico, Central America, the West Indies and South America. Those huge investments must be protected against the aggressions of other capitalists from Belgium, France, Germany, England, Russia and the other foreign surplus investing nations. Hence, there arose the demand for a great American army and a great American navy to back up what we please to call the economic Monroe Doctrine, which I take to mean that no foreign nation has the right to pick the pockets of the South American people. We reserved that right exclusively for ourselves.

The great navy and army were necessary. You cannot maintain a great navy and a great army in a democracy without universal military service, and therefore universal military service was necessary. You cannot get universal military service across in a democracy without a war and therefore a war was necessary. Very few people in the United States wanted war, excluding the capitalist interests. They wanted their foreign investments protected. They needed a military establishment to protect them. They required conscription to back their military establishment and the only possible way to get conscription was through war with Mexico—with Japan—with England—with Germany—with anybody that would yield the desired results. Now we have the war—our participation in the world's struggle. The American people did not want the war. The American business interests did want the war and they spent three years telling us that through their subsidized, owned, kept press and at the end of that three years they got their war. Our line of attack is not against the war. Our line of attack is not against the present Administration. Our line of attack must be fundamentally against the system of plutocratic oligarchy that dominates the United States and makes war necessary as a consequence.

DR. MAGNES:

We had expected to have as the next speaker Job Harriman of Los Angeles. Unfortunately Mr. Harriman made such a good speech at the Conference to-day that he got too hoarse to be able to speak to-night, and he therefore begs to be excused.

The next speaker will be an old, yet ever-young champion of

democracy—one of the few clergymen who have kept the faith, the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago:

Not that I hate crowns less, but because I hate war more. I am opposed to this war, not because it has Germany for an enemy, but I am opposed to all wars as an inheritance of barbaric and brutal ancestry, as something to be outgrown and left behind. I am in favor of a peace without victory, because victory would bring an unspeakable calamity upon the victors. Alas; for this twentieth century of Christian era that establishes its power by the triumph of the sword, for history proves that the conquest of the conqueror has always been brief—the reign of the administrations established by power have passed, while the power of the advocates of love and peace endure through the centuries. You find the conquest of the man of the sword in the past only with the spade digging in the sands of oblivion while the triumphs of love endure forever. I come here to stand up with you to be counted. I come here to be found on the firing line for peace. I have a right to speak on this matter. I wear a button, the Grand Army Button, that tells you that I followed the flag for three years where it was not comfortable. I was where Grant and Sherman and Logan were. I followed them through Collins, to Vicksburg, Vicksburg to Missionary Ridge, Missionary Ridge to Atlanta and Atlanta back to Nashville, and I come here to tell you that the war from the inside justifies the verdict of history that it is the wrong, wrong way, even of doing the right thing.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Chicago:

Liberty cannot live without the freedom of speech and of the press. Five score and ten years ago the colonies upon the Atlantic coast permitted the organization of the American Republic, only upon condition that there should be written into the life of a new republic their first article of the Bill of Rights which guaranteed the right and the freedom to speak. We have remained to this day to find the Chancellors of the United States and its Prime Ministers challenging that right, proposing to take away the right of the press to educate the public, the right of freedom of speech, and even it is suggested to take away the privilege of asking its officials upon what terms they will be inclined to make peace. Before election you are sovereign citizens and are supreme officers of your servants. Now they are sovereigns and you become their servants. Let us make one thing emphatic, that as liberty rises in Russia it shall not perish here.

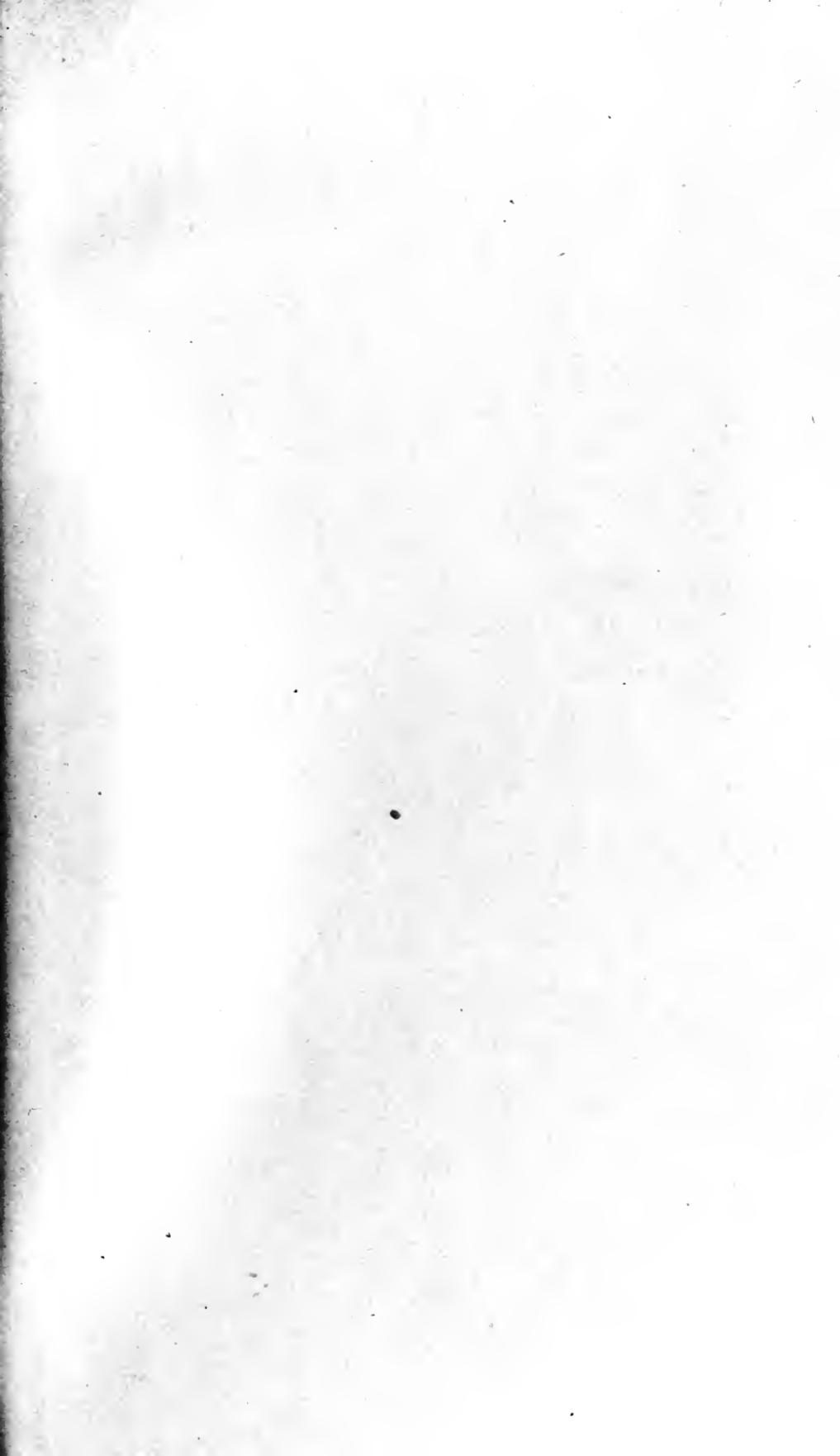


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